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To End the War in Java

THE FIGHTING in Java has now reached a point where it can no longer be ignored by the democratic nations. It is rapidly developing into a racial war, which may leave in its wake a bitterness and hatred that will last for decades. The shelling of Soerabaya, Indonesian threats to poison the Dutch if they return—these are signs that peace will never be wholly restored in Java and the Indies until the Javanese are at least guaranteed the right to choose between autonomous self-government of the type offered by the Dutch and complete independence.

Our foreign policy with regard to the Indies, as well as on Indo-China and the threatened British encroachment on Siamese sovereignty, has been singularly weak considering our position as a major power in the Pacific. By our silence we have seemed to give tacit approval to the residual warfare in that region. Our one act has been to request the British and Dutch to remove American labels from lend-lease equipment used in Java—which can hardly fool the Indonesians.

The Dutch, reduced to poverty at home by the Nazis and jealous of their position as a secondary power, are reluctant to grant concessions. They stand on the statement of Queen Wilhelmina three years ago, which Acting Governor General of the Indies Hubertus J. van Mook amplified slightly on November 6. This amounts to commonwealth status for the Indies under the Netherlands Kingdom, theoretically on an equal basis with Holland, and with guarantees of racial equality for the Indonesians. But this offer fails to take into account the growing maturity of the Javanese nationalist movement during the war. Furthermore, the autonomy offered by the Dutch might well mean self-government only for the Dutch and Eurasians and a few educated Indonesians. Only additional guarantees of expanded popular education and a more direct franchise than the prewar pyramided system of voting could have given this brand of autonomy real meaning for the people of the Indies.

But now it is too late for such concessions. It seems clear that nothing less than a guarantee of the right to choose independence within a specified period—or crushing defeat—will stop the fighting. And that guarantee will have to be backed by the United Nations or by a group of the great powers, since nationalist leaders have made it clear that they do not trust the Dutch.

The Netherlands government is divided on the Indies question. It is a slightly left-of-center government, recruited mainly from the resistance forces. Premier Schermerhorn was chairman of the People's Movement, whose program included "abandonment of colonial policy and colonial ideas . . . recognition that in the Kingdom there are at least two nations, the Dutch and Indonesians." Schermerhorn and his Minister of Overseas Territories, Mr. Logeman, are now under severe pressure from Dutch business interests which are fearful of losing their $1,500-million investment in the Indies. Not wanting to be blamed for such an eventuality, the government first took the stand that it would not negotiate with nationalist leader

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Soekarno because of his record of collaboration with the Japanese. Then when Soekarno stepped aside, the Dutch said that negotiations could not take place until law and order were restored and there was a responsible group with which to negotiate. Even such preliminary talks as Dr. van Mook had with the nationalists caused a storm of protest from the conservatives, and led to the resignation of Governor General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, who had been been a prisoner of the Japanese throughout the war.

Soekarno has been characterized by the Dutch themselves as a radical nationalist, honest but an opportunist. He was twice placed under arrest by the Japanese during the occupation, but subsequently collaborated with them even to the extent of sponsoring the movement which recruited slave labor for them. As late as the summer of 1945 he made numerous inflammatory statements, not only against the Dutch but against the British and Americans as well. His shrewdest move was to give active leadership of the so-called "Indonesian Republic" to the Socialist Sutan Sjarir, who as Premier formed a cabinet of able Javanese, free of any taint of collaborationism. Soekarno and Sjarir, by trying to prevent atrocities by the extremists, have placed themselves on the side of reason and moderation. This has removed some of the onus of Japanese sponsorship of their government, and will make it impossible for the Dutch to ignore them. While Sjarir is unable to control the actions of Japanese-inspired extremists, it seems likely that he has the support of the literate and vocal sections of the population in resisting the return of the Dutch.

The British, as the policemen and protectors of the colonial status quo, are in a very ticklish position. After the initial mistake of having called on the Japanese to help preserve order, they tried to force the Dutch to negotiate with Soekarno. Now they are apparently preparing to wage a full-scale war against the armed Indonesians, despite criticism at home and abroad, with the stated objectives of disarming the Javanese and freeing the prisoners of war. They can undoubtedly win a military victory, but this alone will not bring peace to Java.

The Sjarir government has made clear that it would welcome mediation by the United Nations. This course has also been suggested by Captain Harold Stassen. Under the United Nations Charter the Indies could not be placed under trusteeship except by consent of the Dutch themselves, which is unlikely to be forthcoming. But the fighting in Java is clearly a matter which threatens the peace of the world. The least that the United States can do is to press for United Nations action when the General Assembly meets in January. An investigating committee from the Assembly, composed of representatives of the United States and some of the smaller nations, might be able to bring about a cessation of hostilities until a transitional arrangement could be made leading to a popular vote on the question of independence versus autonomy within the Netherlands Kingdom. The Dutch should welcome mediation, for the alternative would be long years of guerrilla warfare and endless friction with a discontented people. Under a transitional arrangement, they would presumably have a chance to return to the islands, make their case clear to the Javanese, and if necessary settle their affairs before withdrawing.

One point in favor of such an arrangement is Java's need for economic unity with the less developed outer islands. Around a conference table, a way might be found to grant the Javanese independence if they choose it at the end of a five or ten-year period, while leaving the Dutch in control of the other islands for a longer time, until the people are ready to decide on their own future course. This could be done without disrupting trade within the Indies.

In any case, United Nations action is called for. It is the responsibility of the United States, and of the other great powers, to demand the use of this new machinery to end the fighting in Java.

Two Strikes on UNO

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, today's sole hope for world peace and security, holds its first assembly meeting in January with two strikes already against it. One is the atom bomb which outdated UNO before it ever got beyond the blueprint stage. The other is the absence of a peace for UNO to keep, due to the Allies' failure as yet to agree on peace terms. Yet despite such clouds over London, no one is predicting that UNO will fold up at its first meeting. Secretary Byrnes on his own initiative and at the eleventh hour has pushed through a conference of Big Three Foreign Ministers at Moscow to help increase the chance of success for UNO's initial meeting.

That meeting was supposed to be primarily technical and procedural. But into its lap was dropped last month the American-British-Canadian proposal for an atomic-energy commission under UNO's auspices, which made its first meeting of supreme importance. Unless machinery for international control of atomic energy is agreed to in principle, unless Russia in particular approves or sponsors the plans of the ABC nations for such control, UNO won't even be the precarious preserver of that degree of peace created at San Francisco. Unless there is international control of atomic energy, and such international control is freely and completely entered into (particularly by the Big Three), UNO is in danger of becoming a global time bomb with the fuse already lit.

Byrnes's mission to Moscow is in fact to persuade the Russians to coöperate, through UNO, for international control of atomic energy. If they do that at the first

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Assembly meeting, UNO may succeed. If they don't, the race toward international suicide is on. But even before the international control of atomic energy had become a subject for discussion at the first Assembly meeting, the atom bomb had drastically unsettled UNO's future.

If there had been no atomic bomb, UNO might have been permitted to evolve slowly into the type of organization which world responsibilities were demanding. That it contained no provisions for preventing a big-power war but only devices for stopping little-power aggressions, was not viewed too pessimistically at San Francisco by UNO's founding fathers. After all, it was felt that the world was too exhausted from one world war to go through any such carnage again for a while. And in the meantime the habit of international coöperation, it was hoped, would take root.

But the atom bomb, along with blowing up Hiroshima and Nagasaki, blew up this possibility of leisurely progress toward remodeling UNO to meet its awful responsibilities. Those bombs blew up the ten or twenty years which the nations, it was presumed, would require to recuperate, decades which UNO would spend establishing itself as the law of nations.

Today, in view of the atom bombs it has on hand, and with UNO's shortcomings, the United States could —within the loopholes of the Charter—make itself the master or the menace of the world. And what the United States could do today, Britain, Russia, France may be able to do tomorrow. The fact is, the world is not safe where there are both atom bombs and nations above the law—particularly where the first are in the hands of the second.

But the atom bomb isn't the only thing that makes UNO's job difficult, if not impossible. UNO, for all of the fanfare and hoopla that will accompany its opening session, faces the strange task of being charged with preserving a peace that has yet to be made. When the Council of Foreign Ministers (which broke down because of the veto prerogative of each member) failed to agree on even some preliminary peace terms, it left UNO to operate in what amounts to a political vacuum. The first purpose of UNO is to maintain international peace and security. But when the first Assembly opens, there will be large blanks in the peace structure due to the Big Five's failure to resolve their basic conflicts on specific peace terms in a few immediate situations.

At best, what UNO apparently will be maintaining precariously in these first postwar years is neither peace nor war. It is an in-between condition with none of the certainties of either state. In war, physical force rules. In peace, under UNO, coöperation and good will are presumed to be the rule. Yet coöperation in UNO by the major powers is purely voluntary.

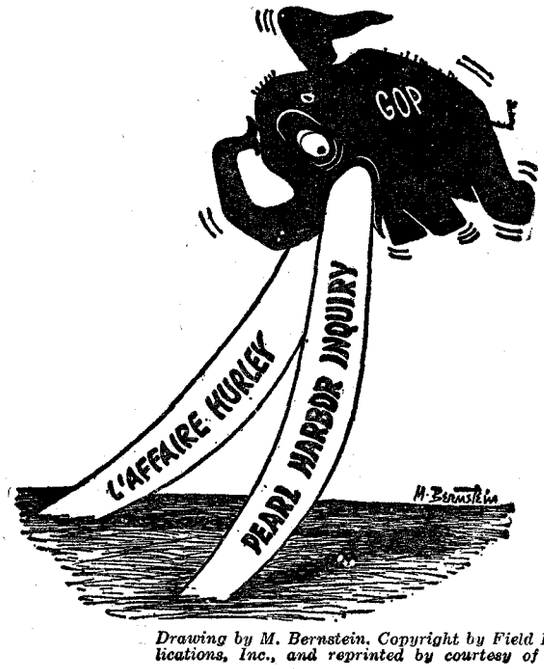
The charter drawn up at San Francisco does an effective job of preventing the causes of the last war. It makes sure that the aggressors of the future will not be the aggressors of the past. World League II is perfectly designed to prevent World War II. Unfortunately it is World War III that must be prevented. As UNO opens, then, with the blast of the atom bomb reechoing throughout the world, it becomes clear that big-power unity and mutual trust are the basic fundamentals of peace. UNO provides the mechanics, the framework (inadequate as they are) for keeping the peace, yet peace itself will depend on these other matters. With them, an inadequate and outmoded charter can still keep the peace from disintegrating. Without them no machinery, however perfect and democratic (which the present charter is not), could succeed.

The Army-Navy Merger

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, long an advocate of an Army-Navy merger, has never forgotten the time, when he was serving as Secretary of the Navy during the last war, that he asked for some minor coöperation from Secretary of War Garrison. The answer: "You run your show and I'll run mine."

Whole Alps of evidence on the merger issue have been gathered since then, by presidential commissions, by studies in Congress, by the Army and Navy. The preponderant weight of it, up to July of this year, argued for a single Department of National Defense. Neither "voluntary coöperation" between sovereign services, command which is temporarily unified in a particular theatre, nor joint command in Washington, had avoided the waste of lives, time and money resulting from inter-service competition and conflicts.

But the pro-merger arguments that have entered the scene since Hiroshima's devastation have made any alternative to Army-Navy unification, with equal policy and strategy status for the Army Air Force, as



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outdated as Sherman's tactics in the march through Georgia. Amphibious warfare, and mistakes in the Pacific that were made because command, supplies and tactics came in separate parcels, have clinched the necessity for a single defense department. The possibility of atomic, aerial warfare virtually compels its creation. Sovereignty of the individual services now has no more realism than the Iliad when confronted with the newly sovereign atom and its whole scientific fraternity, mightier not only than armies and navies, but nations themselves.

There are several overwhelming facts that Navy opponents of merger and all disciples of the great god Status Quo can dodge no longer.

If war does come again, it will leave no leisurely margin of days or weeks for the desultory resolution of differences of opinion between brass and braid over procurement, logistics, command or grand strategy. Aside from the administrative anachronism that has forced us to fight several different battles through several supply lines on any given front, there will simply not be time to overcome the old "lag and drag" of the Army-Navy game. Five years were lost in developing the right kind of assault boat: Army and Navy couldn't get together. Months were lost in the competition for trainees, for facilities, for equipment. Whatever mistakes were made at the Washington nerve center, the Pearl Harbor disaster and the dangerous delays it forced upon us were in large part due to the fact that rivalries were stronger than liaison between the two arms of defense. It caused little Pearl Harbors in Sicily, at Guadalcanal, in the Marshalls, on Leyte.

Apparently most of the best minds in Army and Navy failed to imagine what the late war would be like. Twenty-five years ago, President Harding was interested in merger. It was strongly urged by several committees following World War I, but General Pershing and the Navy were firmly opposed. Prophetic Colonel Billy Mitchell, the unhonored prophet who predicted vast battles in the skies, was pleading for unification in 1925. He warned of a time when combined operations would be thrust upon us—as they were—and we would not be prepared to perform them properly.

But in those days the present was placid, the future comfortably unpredictable, Army was turning deaf ears to aviation experts and resisting mechanization, Navy was neglecting the development of landing craft and submarines, vision extended only to the end of the nose. Only major miracles of science and production saved us. Or perhaps, as Mr. Truman suggested in a magazine article a year ago, it was Providence.

Neither Providence nor eleventh-hour scientific miracles can be counted on as atomic-age allies. It is because the United Nations Organization can, and because we have a major part to play in strengthening and using it, that the merger issue has taken on a new immediacy.

A minimal amendment to the UNO Charter is full internationalization of the world police forces. Until that and other changes are effected, and the sovereignty of world organization makes disarmament possible, the United States can best serve UNO through quota forces trained under a unified defense system. In terms of UNO effectiveness as well as national safety, there must be drastically different concepts of strategy, training, administration and the role of science, in all military thinking and planning. Nothing short of a complete shake-up in our armed forces, their redirection as well as their merger, can strike at the shackles of tradition and chauvinism that conspire to impede progress.

Back of the Washington battle between Army and Navy over the merger issue are a number of considerations that are trivial or no longer valid. The War Department wants unification in a hurry, before demobilization reduces its influence over a new department. The Navy, cherishing its high standards, its *esprit de corps*, and afraid of being outweighed if all armed forces are under one roof, offered nothing but angry resistance to the Army plan. Recently it came out with a substitute proposal: a permanent National Security Council with a central research and development agency, a resources board, integrated intelligence and budgeting, an autonomous Air Force, to work with and through the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Former Assistant Secretary of War McCloy called the Navy arguments a "bag of bogies." General Doolittle's testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee stigmatized them as "hypocrisy." Secretary Forrestal wrote an injured letter to Secretary Patterson. Admiral Nimitz argued that merger meant a real menace to sea power. Only Stimson and Eisenhower have spoken with genuine large-mindedness. The atomic challenge to old ways of thinking was politely ignored in a squabble over entrenched and vested interests. The very nature of the discussions, in and out of Congress, has been the best argument of all for revolution in the entire system.

Although several proposals for unification are pending in Congress and President Truman favors it, the question of procedure is made more delicate by these fresh antagonisms. Probably the best approach is for Mr. Truman to appoint a small public commission to review the surveys and hearings of the past two years and report to him within six weeks. He should then, as Commander-in-Chief, direct the armed forces to work out their own unification system, subject to the approval of the commission and of Congress, within a further two months. The present Billingsgate-flavored state of affairs simply obscures the issue while we lose precious days. "You run your show and I'll run mine" is a principle already a generation overdue for the discard.

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Loan to Britain

THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT in Washington that the Anglo-American loan will be approved by Congress, but all signs point to a bitter battle before its final adoption. Opponents of world coöperation are already rehearsing the expletives they put into moth balls after the UNO and Bretton Woods debates. The familiar smokescreen is being raised about "Uncle Sucker" and the lion's tail is once more being twisted. But it is the votes that count and the Administration can be expected to round up enough support in the final balloting.

Unfortunately for Britain, the specter of a hard-to-please Congress hovered over the American negotiators from the very beginning. Lord Keynes sat down at the table hoping for five billion dollars as an outright gift. Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton, who carried the burden of the talks for the United States, was at first receptive to the amount, but after discussing it with congressional leaders, hastily lowered the ante to four billions and then to three and a half. A bargain was finally struck at three and three-quarter billions.

The interest rate gave a great deal of trouble. Once convinced that a gift was out of the question, Keynes favored a token charge, such as one-eighth of one percent, pointing out that a higher rate would only aggravate the balance-of-payments problem which it was the principal object of the talks to alleviate. There was never any chance of his suggestion being accepted, and the British had to be satisfied with two percent. In fact, at one time the Americans wanted two and three-eighths percent for the lend-lease portion of the loan, such as other countries pay, but they finally threw that in with the larger amount at two percent. The figure will actually range between 1.62 and 2 percent, considering the five-year interest-free period.

Because Keynes found it so hard to swallow the interest rate, Clayton put forward the waiver clause, whereby interest would be postponed in years when Britain's balance of payments was not enough to meet her obligations. London accepted this proposal when it was agreed interest should be canceled entirely in such years, although the British feared that any cancellation would look bad, and anyway they didn't want Americans poking into their books to decide what their balance was. For that reason the job of determination was turned over to the Bretton Woods international organization.

With congressional objections in mind, Clayton at once demanded a specific British commitment to cancel or limit the system of Empire preference in trade. This was too much for Keynes. He threatened to walk out then and there if the Americans insisted on that point. If Britain gave up Empire preference, she would have nothing left to bargain with against the lowering of the American tariffs which, the British insisted with reason, were responsible for Empire preference in the first place. Britain carried her point and took no definite stand on ending Empire preference. However, she did agree to lower her own tariffs if America did the same, and arrangements were made for a reciprocal tariff drop.

With this commercial question settled, two financial obstacles remained—scaling down the British sterling debt, which would open Empire markets to America, and abolishing the dollar pool in sterling-area countries, by which Britain controls United States goods purchased by the rest of the Empire. In the former instance, the British again make no definite commitment, but merely promised to start negotiations to cut the debt. Keynes definitely agreed to end the dollar pool within one year.

The final stumbling block that made the talks stretch out to 12 weeks was the question of convertibility of sterling and abolition of trade controls. Even though she would now have dollars, which, Clayton argued, made controls superfluous, Britain insisted on retaining some controls, although she agreed not to discriminate against American goods.

The most sensational part of the agreement, and the one that is bound to cause controversy, was the complete cancellation of Britain's lend-lease debt, estimated at $25 billion. This was done with the announced intention of avoiding the problem of unpaid war debts, such as marred international relations in the twenties. In addition, Great Britain was loaned $650 million to pay for American goods in the "pipeline" after V-E Day.

Relations between the two delegations were as cordial as was possible between two groups, each out to get as much as possible at the expense of the other. Although hard words were spoken, and Halifax once dramatically threatened to leave and "go it alone," there was never any real danger that the talks would break down. Both sides realized only too well the importance of the loan. Keynes found the Americans extremely hard-boiled, particularly Clayton the cotton broker and Marriner Eccles the banker. They insisted the loan must be a straight commercial proposition and not a matter of sentiment. Although Keynes got along well with Clayton, the scholarly economist at times became piqued at some of Clayton's doctrinaire tendencies. Once Keynes ruefully remarked, "I used to think the *Mayflower* sailed with lawyers aboard, but now I realize it must have been filled with theologians."

A large section of the British press, led of course by the sensational papers, is bitterly attacking the loan agreement. That was to be expected. But even such a responsible publication as the *Manchester Guardian* considered it a historic mistake that war losses should be made the basis for a commercial loan. The weekly

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Economist mourned that Americans would take a "bargaining victory over their best friends." Naturally Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* ranged itself in opposition. Among the supporters was the London *Times*, which, although complaining that the amount was too low, called the loan a "highly constructive step." Keynes himself was believed to have assured his British friends privately that the country can manage to get along on the amount.

Hard-headed financiers in the City generally accepted the agreement as the best that could have been worked out under the circumstances. Of course there were some bankers who warned that Britain could not repay the loan, and insisted that the only effect of the agreement was to sell Britain's markets to America for four billion dollars. The stock market, however, went up, a sure sign of what money men really felt about it.

In the House of Commons the opposition stand was taken by a small group, led by Robert Boothby, which charged that the loan tied Britain to the international gold standard and hampered development of the sterling area. He could muster the support of only a handful of Conservatives and fewer Laborites. In spite of the fireworks they raised in Commons, Attlee used his predominant majority and carried it through without difficulty.

In Washington it looked as if the Administration, after watching the British action, would let Congress take up the matter of approval after the holidays. Legislative foes of the loan promised to center their ire on the lend-lease cancellation and the failure to demand bases and special economic privileges as a *quid pro quo*, despite the fact that the President can act alone in this matter.

They were expected to lean heavily on the report on postwar economic policy made last month by the Colmer committee after a European tour. Colmer, a Mississippi Democrat, not only insisted that lend-lease settlements should include maintenance of air and navigation rights and retention of permanent flying fields, but called for American participation "in the international control of certain strategic materials in colonial areas of countries to which lend-lease has been afforded." Colmer listed 40 key metals in which this country is deficient and asked that the United States demand a share in their control. This cue was picked up by such Republican stalwarts as Representative Knutson of Minnesota, ranking majority member of the House Ways and Means Committee, who wants a British promise to deliver to us tin, rubber, chrome and other essentials as a protection for the loan.

Whatever such men say, Congress cannot afford not to approve the loan. Without it, the resumption of world trade is impossible. On the loan depends the success of Bretton Woods and the UNO international trade body. It is not too much to say that on the loan depends the economic peace of the world.

New Hope for China

One of the best, and most important, pieces of news of the week is President Truman's declaration of policy on China. The President demands that the civil war in China come to an end, and that the Communists be given a share in a coalition government. He pledges that United States troops will not interfere in China in future on behalf of the government of Chiang Kai-shek. If the war is not ended, he tells Chiang bluntly, American aid will be withheld from Chungking, which is now dependent, to a tremendous extent, on that aid. Conversely, he promises the Chinese that if they get together in a coalition regime of a democratic character, this country is prepared to offer them extensive assistance.

It is obvious that the value of the new American policy depends upon the faithfulness with which it is carried out at levels lower than the White House. On its face, it seems a complete repudiation of the Patrick Hurley point of view and that of others, in the State Department and elsewhere, who are so fearful of communism everywhere in the world that they subordinate all other issues to that fear. It is also obvious that some aspects of the President's statement will require many years for completion. For example, he calls for abolition of all private armies; guerrilla forces of local *tuchuns* have existed in China for many decades, have preyed on the countryside, and will doubtless continue until the central government obtains a degree of authority that still seems far in the future. For the present, however, the new American policy ought to end the civil war and set China's feet on the democratic path. We hope UNO at an early meeting will endorse and validate the action, and thus bind all other powers to aid the Chinese rebirth.

Break with Fascist Spain!

Time is running short for Francisco Franco, dictator of fascist Spain, and the gang of profiteering industrialists, absentee landowners and parasitic army generals who prop up his regime. Our State Department has now officially acknowledged receipt of a French note proposing tripartite discussion with the British and ourselves on the question of policy toward Franco Spain.

The purpose of the French note is obvious. The new government of France, thoroughly leftist, cannot afford much longer to resist popular pressure for breaking relations with Franco and recognizing the recently formed Spanish Government-in-Exile. In proposing discussion of the Spanish question to the United States and Great Britain, it has chosen the proper course. Although the Soviet Union and a number of Latin American countries, including Mexico, Uruguay and Bolivia, have no relations with fascist Spain, rupture of relations by France alone would have few

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effective practical results. Isolation of a fascist dictatorship and its eventual overthrow through international action is possible only on a collective basis.

It has been well known for a long time that Franco could stay in power only as long as he has the open or covert support of the United States and Great Britain. The Spanish Government-in-Exile has no chance of success without recognition by these two great powers. By taking the initiative, the French government has brought the ultimate fall of Franco closer to realization. It is difficult to see how the United States and Britain, but particularly the British Labor government, can resist much longer a demand which now has not only the support of two great powers, France and Russia, but is seconded by the overwhelming majority of the Anglo-American peoples.

There are also indications that the American government is inclined to get tough with Franco. We have apparently no intention of replacing Ambassador Norman Armour, who will soon retire from public office. Equally symptomatic is the news that, for the first time since the defeat of the Spanish Republic, a Republican politician, Dr. Juan Negrin, has been officially received by the State Department.

We should break relations with fascist Spain! Not only for the purpose of making morally good our mistake of having helped Franco into the saddle by our cowardly policy of non-intervention during the Spanish civil war, but also because the peace of the world will continue to be endangered as long as a single fascist is left in a position of power. The time for breaking with Franco and supporting the democratic cause in Spain is now!

Our German Policy

In both their political and economic aspects, the Byrnes and State Department declarations on German reparations and peacetime economy are technically sound and admirable from the human point of view. Although they are ostensibly based on the Potsdam agreement, they represent a major revision, if not a new departure, from that accord. As we pointed out at the time when the Potsdam agreement was published, it left the door open to varying interpretations and policies. Those who held that it implemented the policy advocated by former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. have now been proved wrong. On the contrary, the new policy, if accepted by the other powers, is the very opposite of Mr. Morgenthau's proposal.

The industrial-disarmament and reparations features of the agreement are of course retained, and rightly so. Compensation to the victims of German aggression is not only just, but the removal of a large part of Germany's war-making capacity, as Mr. Byrnes points out, cannot be considered objectionable, since it never served the German civilian. But the new policy is also more positive than the Potsdam agreement. Such limitations as will be imposed, Mr. Byrnes stated, should be designed "primarily to prevent German rearmament and not to restrict or reduce the German standard of living." The industrial-disarmament program and reparations, the State Department declaration continues, "are not designed to result in punitive destruction of capital equipment of value to the German peacetime economy." The declaration carefully analyzes what capital equipment is to remain in Germany to enable her to produce a standard of living *equivalent* to the European average in 1948, after reparations have been satisfied. While the "disease-and-unrest" formula is to determine the amount of Allied supplies to Germany in the next two years, our policy is already directed toward the restoration of the German economy. But the German economy is to be "geared to a world system and not an autarchical system." For this purpose the declaration envisages the reactivation of Germany's foreign trade.

Finally, the State Department declaration defines the controversial clause of the Potsdam agreement, that "primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agricultural and peaceful domestic industries." It is to mean that "the maximum possible provision be made for exports from sources other than the metal, machinery and chemical industries." These are only the main points of our policy whose details will be examined in a forthcoming article.

Full Employment

The Murray-Patman full-employment bill is now as good as dead, and with no official record of who killed it. The unusually confused parliamentary situation in the House blasted progressive chances for at least a showdown vote on a real full-employment measure.

Weeks ago, it was clear that Representative Manasco's (D, Ala.) reactionary committee considering the legislation would bring out a weak and meaningless substitute for the compromise Senate bill. Representatives Outland (D, Calif.) and Bender (R, Ohio) and other co-sponsors of the original Patman measure were prepared to fight on the floor for strong amendments. As the debate was about to begin on December 14, Administration leaders Rayburn and McCormack called a "hot-box" caucus to persuade this liberal bloc to vote for the committee substitute instead, on the ground that it was better for the party to get that through than the nothing it would get should a Republican move to recommit the measure then be passed. They held out the final hope that then the Senate and House conference committee could draft a more acceptable compromise.

All but a handful of the co-sponsors decided to go along with this strategy after a move to substitute the original Murray-Patman bill had failed, 95 to 185.

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Now the fight for full-employment legislation must begin again. Senator Murray and Representative Patman would do the nation a service if they would again take the lead in mustering our forces for a more comprehensive, more carefully drawn measure.

The Labor Front

President Truman will not get before Christmas the labor-control legislation he asked Congress to give him by then. The Senate wisely decided that the hot tempers which precipitated passage of the Hobbs anti-racketeering bill in the House should be allowed to mellow in the spirit of the holiday before taking on so difficult a task. Senate hearings on the President's proposal are expected to last at least a month after Congress reconvenes in January, and so there is little chance that the General Motors-UAW negotiations will be facilitated by the prospect of official supervision based on a new law. The House Labor Committee showed real concern over the profit figures for industry which Philip Murray presented to it last week. And both committees now seem to be opening the door to presentation of the basic facts of our troubles as Reconversion Director Snyder never chose to do. The need for a wiser and an abler man in Snyder's position is every day more apparent. Failing this and further action from the White House or an unexpected break for labor from one industrialist, possibly a Henry Kaiser, the country can look forward to still more nationwide strikes in the immediate future. That will mean a test of the ability of the American people as a whole to understand some very fundamental facts and to follow where those facts lead.

Housing

In selecting Wilson Wyatt, the competent and progressive mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, for housing czar, President Truman has made one of his best appointments since taking office. But Washington cynics who agree to this add that only Wyatt's political enemies would wish him a job so fraught with "booby traps."

No accurate estimate as to how far the President's plan will go toward relieving the growing national housing shortage can be made until an official executive order has been issued. First drafts of the order did not go nearly far enough. About 50 percent of available construction materials would be allocated to building houses costing $10,000 and under, which could mean about 500,000 new homes next year. But there is no limit on the proportion of these that must be in the really low-priced bracket. Not many veterans can afford $100 a month to carry the charges on a $10,000 house. Reconversion Director Snyder is understood to feel that the order should not specify quality standards, as did the old L-41 construction order. That means no veteran would have any guarantee of what he was getting for his $10,000. Without quality standards, it might be three, five, or nine thousand dollars' worth.

Regardless of the form the order takes, two pending bills must still be pushed through Congress before real relief will be in sight, the Patman bill controlling prices on all new housing, and the renewal of the rent-control bill which the real-estate lobby is plotting to wipe out by next summer. It will take much more support than there now is to pass these two vital measures.

Patton

The *New Republic*, which has strongly disagreed with General Patton politically, but has done so impersonally, wishes to join with millions of his fellow countrymen in expressing pleasure that the results of his automobile accident now seem less serious than they did at first. Patton has been a figure of such tempestuous vitality that it seemed doubly tragic to imagine him dead or a lifelong, complete invalid.

Incidentally, not only General Patton but millions of other automobile-accident victims could probably be saved, or their injuries made less serious, if motor cars were equipped with safety belts as airplanes are. In case of head-on collision, the person at the wheel is less severely hurt than other passengers in the car, because these others are thrown forward against the dashboard, with its array of knobs, while the driver has the wheel as at least partial protection. Some years ago, there was a determined campaign to have cars equipped with lightweight, broad safety belts which could be snapped on or off in a few seconds; but the proposal was smothered by the automobile companies, which did not want the public made too fully aware of the danger of accident. With the death toll on highways now rising rapidly toward the prewar normal of 40,000 killed and one million crippled annually, in the United States alone, this might be an appropriate moment to revive the suggestion.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Nazi Haven in Spain

by Joaquin Garcia

SPAIN has become the haven in which thousands of German espionage agents, technicians and businessmen now live in comfort or luxury, honored and protected by highly placed Spaniards, both Falangists and Monarchists. Unlike Anglo-American diplomats, the Spanish fascists have not forgotten that the Spanish Republic was overthrown with German technical and material aid. To be sure, since the Allied victory, the Spanish authorities have been graciously pleased to render lip-service to democratic ideology and to make unimplemented promises of internal reform.

Such surface coöperation has, in fact, facilitated the continued Spanish protection of many of the most skillful and dangerous Nazis in Europe whose expulsion had been promised to the Allies. Futhermore, the presence in Spain of more than 6,000 German scientists and technicians not only assures advantages to Spanish industrialists in the competition for postwar markets, but also permits the Germans to keep abreast, if not ahead, of the world in research and experimentation. Reportedly, some of this research is currently concerned with super-jet-propelled planes and atomic energy.

Of the 50,000 to 80,000 Germans now in Spain, some 1,200 "customs guards" and sailors are de-luxe internees, but the movements and activities of some 3,000 espionage and sabotage agents, many of them officers of the Wehrmacht, are unrestricted.

To understand why many of these same Germans are not now facing trial as war criminals, one merely needs to glance at the records of typical high-ranking Spanish political and military figures. There are such Franco cabinet members as Ramón Fernández Cuesta, "old-shirt" follower of Falangist founder José Primo de Rivera since 1933, whose coöperation with Germany, as also that of his predecessor, ex-Minister of Justice Eduardo Aunos, antedates the civil war. The ardently Naziphile Falangist Minister of the Interior, Blas Pérez, is one of the most powerful men in Spain by virtue of his Gestapo-trained secret police, which can search properties and make arrests without warrants, and which retains a large number of Germans on its payroll. Falangist Minister of Labor José Antonio Girón is a rabid pro-German who long urged Spain's entry into the war as an ally of Germany. Monarchist Minister of Air General Gallarza received the Order of the German Eagle for his services in organizing the air arm of the Blue Division, and his predecessor, Monarchist General Vigón, was pressing for Spanish entry into the war as an ally of Germany.

The protection by Spanish officials of German agents has been achieved primarily through the obvious, but effective, use of delaying tactics. In 1944, Franco and his Ministers professed themselves shocked at the documented Allied accusations submitted by the British Ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare (Lord Templewood), and promised coöperation in the expulsion of enemy agents. First, however, Spanish justice demanded that Spanish officials verify the charges. This Spanish "investigation" continued until the Allied armies were pushing across France into Germany, at which time the Spaniards declared that under no circumstances could they expose the German agents to possible death by deporting them into a potential battle area. Instead, they would "intern" them, an internment which merely involved registration of the Germans with the Falangist police officials. Finally, after the defeat of Germany, the Spaniards laid down an obviously impossible condition to their expulsion, namely, that the Anglo-Americans should guarantee that none of the Germans deported, regardless of their point of origin in Germany, should be sent into the Russian-occupied zone. During these protracted negotiations, new German agents were arriving to take over the duties of Nazis who had been discovered, for all Allied evidence and information was made immediately available to the German officials. As late as March and April, 1945, some 200 youthful members of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, fluent in the use of Spanish and provided with bogus Spanish identity papers were flown into Spain, where they now pass as Spanish citizens.

TOP NAME on the Allied list of dangerous enemy agents was Gustav Lenz, a captain in the German army and an officer in the *Sicherheitsdienst*. Long-time head of espionage and sabotage, his network extended into every Spanish village, every Spanish regiment. One important Lenz group which included thousands of Germans and tens of thousands of Spaniards was generally called the Camisas Cruzadas, or Crusade Shirts, and at its peak numbered more than 70,000 commissioned and non-commissioned army officers, members of the secret police, postal inspectors and immigration officials. How effective the Lenz organization still is cannot be gauged with accuracy, but millions of pesetas were turned over to its key agents and assistants before the end of the war. Of the known

Joaquin Garcia is the pseudonym of a writer whose identity, for reasons of personal security, cannot be revealed at this time.

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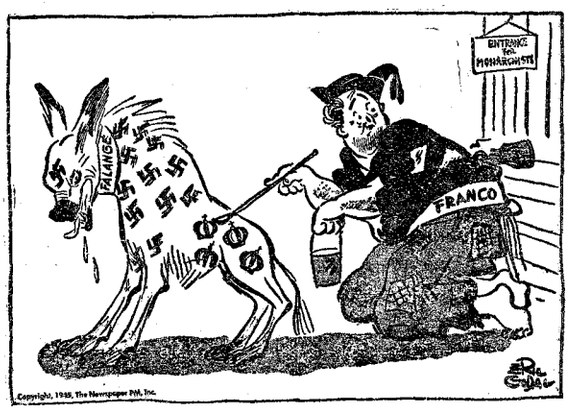
assistants, Joaquin Canaris is probably the most prominent socially. Because of his connections in the highest echelon of political and titled circles, it was said that Berlin often learned the details of Allied-Spanish conferences before London and Washington.

In addition to undercover German agents, there were the huge staffs of the German consulates and embassy whose activities in general have been no less subversive. There is the consul from Tenerife in the Canary Islands, whose close relations with Spanish army, navy and civil officials were considered responsible for the firing of Spanish coastal batteries on Allied planes far outside the territorial waters, and who served as an important link in maintaining German intelligence in Latin America. (Practically every German agent in Latin America, of course, reached the Western Hemisphere via Spain, and generally traveled with Spanish passports.) There are the consuls from Spanish Morocco and Tangier—Recke, Kreuger, Reith and Seydel—who with their aides helped to litter the Straits with broken ships and broken men.

As for the German Embassy officials, only ex-Ambassador Dieckhoff is missing from the autumn social season in Madrid. The departure of the Ambassador several months before the end of the war has been variously ascribed to Spanish annoyance over a careless remark ascribed to him, and to pressures exerted by the German Press Attaché, Hans Lazar. A much-sought-after socialite, Lazar formerly dictated the propaganda line and virtually controlled most of the Spanish press. Other embassy officials living in luxury include Sigismund von Bibra, an officer of the *Sicherheitsdienst* who spent most of his time directing espionage but was officially Chargé d'Affaires and Counselor of the embassy.

Probably the most important embassy official is the unofficial ambassador, Hans Thomsen, leader of the Nazi Party in Spain and head of the German schools and culture societies. Despite Allied protests, nearly all of the thirty-odd German schools were reopened this fall, and are currently attended by approximately 10,000 children of the most prominent Spanish families. Some of the schools have changed their name or location, and half of the instruction is now being given in Spanish, but the classes are taught by the same teachers, reinforced by numerous intelligence agents and, in the elementary grades, by some 40 of the 200 or 300 Blitzmaedel (German counterpart of the American Wacs), who crossed into Spain from France when the Maquis cut off their return to Germany in 1944.



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Changing the Hyena's Spots

THE CENTER of German activities, apart from political espionage, has long been not Madrid, but the great industrial city of Barcelona. Last summer German Gestapo agents were still sharing offices with the Spaniards in the Barcelona police headquarters. The Military Governor of Barcelona, General Coll Fuster, and the Governor General of Barcelona Province, Antonio Correa Veglisson, were rabid Naziphiles. After repeated Allied protests, the latter was recently replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Bartolemeo Barba, an appointment which can hardly be considered a marked improvement in view of the fact that Barba's political secretary, Miguel Moya Huertas, was a Falangist news correspondent in Rome during the early part of the war, and served as interpreter for Heinrich Himmler when the latter visited Spain. Radiating out from Barcelona, and secondarily from the Basque iron and shipbuilding center of Bilbao, are the banking, insurance and industrial enterprises over which the Germans have established, and maintain, financial and technical domination. These industries include the manufacture of armament, mechanical and electrical equipment, dyes, chemicals and shipbuilding, all significant in terms of a possible future war. To date, the efforts of Anglo-American "Safehaven" economic specialists to establish any type of Allied control or supervision over these industries have been spectacularly unsuccessful.

The predominant position of Germany in Spain's economy actually dates from the spring of 1936, with the formation of HISMA (Hispanic-Moroccan Company), with capital furnished by ROWAK of Berlin (Rohstoffe Unde Walen Einkaufagesellschaft). It was HISMA which made advance arrangements with anti-Republican generals and industrialists to supply the insurgent forces with airplanes, tanks and munitions of every variety. By the end of the civil war, Franco was in the process of decorating 25,500 Germans for their assistance, and owed Germany a billion marks for war materials and the services of the Condor Legion. HISMA had divided into four German controlled companies, Minera, S.A.,[1] devoted to the exploitation and export of mineral resources to Germany; Productos Agrícolas, S. A., charged with the shipment of foodstuffs to Germany; Pilles, S.A., which specialized in the export of hides to Germany, and the powerful

[1] S.A. is the abbreviation for Sociedad Anónima, or Incorporated.

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SOFINDUS (Sociedad Financiera Industrial) which was responsible for the financing of German enterprises and the conduct of German research throughout Spain. Frederich Bethke of ROWAK was the chairman of SOFINDUS, and the kingpin in most subsequent cartel arrangements. With full knowledge of Spanish authorities, and in contravention to the Spanish law that the capital of such concerns must be 75-percent Spanish, SOFINDUS and other important enterprises, including practically all insurance companies, became practically 100-percent German-owned and financed.

The cartel AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft) established a virtual monopoly over electrical equipment which today permits its director, Dr. Karl Albrecht, openly to scorn Allied Safehaven activities. Phrix of Hamburg dominated the manufacture of artificial fibers of FEFASA (Fabricación Española de Fibras Artificiales), one of the corporations in which the Spanish government recently made heavy investments, thereby assisting the Germans to cloak their financial interests. The tentacles of I. G. Farben early obtained a grip on every aspect of Spanish chemical and pharmaceutical development. Thus, the Barcelona Fabricación Nacional de Colorantes y Explosivos and its distributors, Unicolor, S.A., were set up as a subsidiary of I. G. Farben of Frankfurt am Main, and Barcelona Química y Farmaceútica, S.A. (Bayer), as a branch of I. G. Farben of Leverkusen. Though ostensibly Spanish controlled, SEFANITRO (Sociedad Española de Fabricación Nitrogenedas), with its headquarters in Bilbao and its interlocking interests in the steel corporation, Altos Hornos de Vizcaya, developed as an offshoot of the Badische Analin and Sodafabrik of Ludwigshafen, and Lurgi Gesellschaft für Chemie und Hüttenwesen of Frankfurt.

DURING THE WAR, Spanish-controlled firms and high Spanish officials vied with those of Germany in unneutral activities designed to promote the Axis war effort. Hispano-Suiza of Barcelona operated in connection with Messerschmitt interests in the production of airplane and tank motors, which were shipped via France to Germany. Also producing for Messerschmitt was the Spanish airplane company, Aeronaútica Industrial, S.A. Another firm, Construcciónes Aeronaúticas, S.A., specialized in the manufacture of Heinkel airplane parts, particularly templates for the Luftwaffe. Maquinista Terrestre built Diesel engines for German U-boats. Bombs and mortars were produced for the Wehrmacht in the Ciudad Jardín factory near Madrid. According to persistent rumors, parts of the robot bombs were made and tested near Pamplona. Spanish diplomats as well as Spanish businessmen built up personal fortunes by coöperating with the Nazis. A Spanish consul to a South American republic facilitated the smuggling to Germany of significant quantities of industrial diamonds. Former Minister of Industry and Commerce, Demetrio Carceller, managed to profit extensively from Allied preclusive purchases of wolfram while at the same time he was expediting the shipments of this ore and other strategic commodities to the Reich. By 1944, 39.2 percent of all Spanish exports were going to Germany, and an additional 30 percent to German-occupied territories. After the wolfram agreement of May 2, 1944, Spanish officials continued conveniently blind to the smuggling of the ore.

TODAY, throughout Spain, Spanish Morocco, the Balearic and the Canary Islands, German funds and German-owned companies are cloaked by Franquist and Monarchist firms and individuals. The extent of this cloaking may be gauged by the fact that, although more than 90 percent of the German assets and flight capital in Spain is centered in Barcelona, Bilbao and Sevilla, in the city of Tangier alone during the final months of the war upwards of 800 firms suspected as cloaks were registered with the Mixed Tribunal. Typical instances of cloaking are found in the reorganization of the German-owned shipbuilding company, Transcomar, into the dummy Spanish corporation, Compañía Naviera Bachi, and in the financial arrangements of José Lipperheide, German representative of the German Office for Compensation from Spain.

Another device for facilitating flight assets was the "sale" to Spanish firms of thousands of tons of valuable machinery stripped from German factories and rushed to Switzerland for storage after the successful Allied landings in France. The transfer of German patents to Spanish firms, a means of enabling such companies as Daimler-Benz, Krupp, Messerschmitt, Heinkel and Dornier Aircraft to continue their research and engage in production in Spain at the earliest moment, has also been widely employed. By the "reinsurance racket" and by banking manipulations, additional millions of marks have escaped into Spain, and frequently via Spain into Latin America. Other millions in the form of large-denomination peseta notes (a considerable part of the 270 million pesetas which, according to March, 1945, estimates, remained unpaid on the Spanish civil-war debt), which had been kept out of circulation to prevent further inflation of Spanish currency, were flown from Germany to Spain.

Discussing the position of the Germans in Spain, Hans Doerr, the former Military Attaché of the German Embassy, recently boasted to his friends: "We have nothing to worry about. Too many American capitalists have interests in Farbenindustrie and Elektrizitäts for them to push us, and the authorities [Spanish] know on whom they must rely. Those [the Potsdam declaration] are just words, and words hurt no one. There were many words in Geneva, too, against Germany, against Spain. Unless he declares war upon them, the English and the Americans will never move against Franco. *Alles ist schön, sehr schön!*"

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Food by Allotment

by John Perry

EARLY IN THE WAR, the United States Government scrapped its only program intended to get more food into low-income homes: the food-stamp plan. All other major nations, Allied and Axis, were seeking ways to improve civilian nutrition. The plan was abolished when it was most needed, as the rising cost of inflation and black markets cut deeply into the buying power of several million families. Now Congress is being asked to repair the damage by enacting the La Follette-Aiken food-allotment bill, S. 1151.

To ration food equitably among the many new claimants, the government introduced an allocations system, setting aside fixed amounts for the armed forces and export, and OPA coupons to divide the remainder among civilians. That was fine, as far as it went, but to many Americans the coupons were valueless; they simply couldn't afford to buy their share. Caught in the cost-of-living squeeze were those who lived on fixed incomes: disabled veterans, pensioners, school teachers, recipients of public assistance and holders of annuities.

The food-stamp plan wouldn't have helped much without major changes. It was primarily a surplus-disposal scheme, and after Pearl Harbor there weren't many surpluses to distribute. Never specifically authorized by Congress, the plan depended on statutes which restricted its scope. It could aid only public-assistance cases, not low-wage workers. At the peak, only four million persons participated.

Nutritionally, it was a hit-or-miss affair. Sometimes there was a surplus of butter and eggs, sometimes of beans or prunes. In the Department of Agriculture one group fought for the consumer-nutrition idea, urging Department chiefs to ask for legislation broadening the plan. Another group defended the surplus-disposal philosophy. With surpluses disappearing, the plan had to be broadened or scrapped. On March 1, 1943, the Department discarded it voluntarily.

Before the year's end Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont introduced a bill to restore it in a new and broader form. Hearings were held, but spokesmen for labor and progressive groups said they were against the measure. Small wonder, for into it had been written a flat prohibition against subsidies. The CIO charged that the obvious appeal of the food-stamp plan was being used to cover up an anti-subsidy move that would smash price ceilings and leave all consumers holding a depleted bag.

That bill wasn't enacted. The new one now being considered doesn't mention subsidies. Senator La Follette has become a co-sponsor. It is a straightforward measure with the declared purpose of bettering civilian nutrition. Surplus disposal is a secondary purpose. Much broader than the old food-stamp plan, it would work this way:

1. The Secretary of Agriculture would determine the composition of a nutritionally adequate diet and compute the cost per person at current retail prices. This would be the basic food allotment.

2. He would then sell coupons to applicants in amounts not greater than this allotment. If the allotment cost $15 per person per month, a family of four could buy $60 worth.

3. Prices charged for the coupons would depend on the income of the family. If the income were $100 a month, the family might pay $40 for the $60 worth, while if the income were $125, the same number of coupons would cost $50. On this basis, no family with more than $150 a month would buy coupons, since they would cost more than they were worth.

4. Two-thirds of the coupons could be used to buy any kind of food. The Secretary could earmark the other third for purchase of surplus items, and he could also give away special stamps good only for specific surplus foods. Coupons would be good at any food store.

The plan would scale its benefits according to the needs of each family. Need, in terms of income, would be the criterion; workers employed at low wages would be eligible as well as those receiving public assistance. A simple declaration of income would be used to qualify.

Some such plan is badly needed. When the minimum diet suggested in the bill was last printed, it would have cost a family of four $646 a year. Budget studies show that food expenditures represent about 40 percent of total income in the lower brackets, so the minimum diet could then have been bought only by families earning more than $2,350 a year. That shut out nearly half the nation's families. Today incomes are lower, and the latest estimate of the food allotment's cost is $800.[1]

Though we eat a large volume of food, our country is not well fed. Aid to low-income families would make

John Perry, who during the war was special assistant to the Director of Foreign Agricultural Relations and Acting Chief of the Food Branch of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, has resumed his former business, that of public-relations consultant.

[1] The figures of $646 and $800 are not quite comparable, since they come from different sources, but there has been a price increase.

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drastic changes in their diets and their purchases. Now they have to buy bulky and calorific foods to keep going. With more to spend, their intake of dairy products, eggs, meat and fruits would rise spectacularly. There is every reason for the La Follette-Aiken bill to appeal to farmers, who now fear postwar surpluses. The federal government is pledged to support most basic-crop prices for at least two more years, and the bill offers a practical way to distribute the harvests.

The present bill seems to have a good chance for passage. The Department of Agriculture favors it. The dairy lobby and some other farm groups will actively support it. The Farm Bureau, which had modified its opposition to the food-stamp plan by 1942, did not appear at last year's hearings and is expected either to be silent or express approval this year. With the subsidy ban removed, labor and progressive groups will undoubtedly give it their blessing.

While the bill is a great improvement over any previous version, it could be further strengthened. Passage of the bill would not guarantee adequate funds for the plan's operation. Last year Senator Aiken estimated that if everyone in the country received the full amount of coupons that could be allotted under the act, the cost to the nation in 1944 would be $3 billion. (This is gross cost, not net; the plan would result in increased corporate and personal tax revenues.) But he then believed that Congress would be unwilling to appropriate funds to bring all diets up to the minimum, and that the probable level of operation would be 60 percent, which would cost the Treasury $600 million.

Congress won't make a firm commitment on this bill. But in the concept of national budgeting is a way to improve and strengthen the present measure. An amendment could direct the Secretary of Agriculture to estimate at the beginning of each year the expenditure necessary to bring all families up to the minimum adequate diet. This estimate, given to Congress and the public, would serve as a target.

Another serious weakness is that the bill permits the Secretary to enter into agreements with state and local public-assistance agencies for local administration of the plan. Should this be done, healthy, self-respecting workers would have to appear before these agencies as charity cases. While the bill prohibits religious, racial or political discrimination, the federal government would have no effective recourse against local groups which chose to violate this provision, other than the painful choice of withdrawing the plan's benefits altogether. Many local agencies would use the plan as an excuse to reduce other public-assistance payments. All in all, it is a thoroughly bad and unnecessary provision that should be stricken from the act.

Applicants must file a simple declaration of income; this should be done at federal offices. Enforcement measures are necessary, but these should resemble Treasury investigations of income-tax returns rather than the case investigations of social workers.

The bill is now in the Senate Agriculture Committee. No hearings have been scheduled. Unless the committee acts before adjournment, the bill will die there, though the sponsors will doubtless reintroduce it when Congress reconvenes.

Vacuum in Greece

by L. S. Stavrianos

FOR THE FIRST TIME since the tragic Battle of Athens of December, 1944, the situation in Greece shows some signs of definite improvement. The formation of the Sophoulis government, representing centrist and slightly left-of-center elements, indicates that at long last the British authorities are beginning to comprehend the facts of Greek political life. If this is true, and if the Labor government proves ready to accept these facts and to base its policy upon them rather than upon Ambassador Leeper's estimate of the Greek resistance movement as a "silly little band of Communists," then there is some hope for the long suffering and much abused Greek people.

The fundamental reason for the economic chaos and political instability which have prevailed in Greece during the past year is to be found in the determination of the successive British-supported governments to isolate, exclude and weaken the EAM, so that it might not become a major force in Greek politics. This explains why the Varkiza Agreement (February 12, 1945), which ended the Battle of Athens, remained a dead letter from the moment of its signing.

Instead of enforcing the Varkiza provisions for civil liberty and political freedom, the various regimes have tolerated a nationwide reign of terror which has been waged against EAM sympathizers since the beginning of the year. Perhaps the most disheartening feature of this situation has been its toleration and acceptance by

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L. S. Stavrianos, Ph. D., an assistant professor of History at Smith College, served in the OSS during 1944-45 as a specialist on Greek affairs. He is the author of Balkan Federation: The Movement Towards Balkan Unity in Modern Times, *and is now preparing a book on Greece during the past decade.*

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the British, despite the fact that they had undertaken to enforce the provisions and are maintaining an estimated 70,000 troops in Greece for the professed purpose of preserving law and order.

The advent of the Labor government raised hopes that the prevailing Tory policy might be revised. But for four months British policy in Greece remained virtually unchanged. Both the centrist Liberal Party and the leftist EAM had for long urged a representative government to replace the existing Voulgaris regime, which was theoretically a service, "non-political" government but which in fact aided the royalist cause by tolerating the terrorism against non-royalists. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, however, early expressed his opposition to any change of regime before elections, and the Voulgaris government consequently was given a new lease on life.

THIS CONTINUATION of the old policy inevitably meant the continuation of political instability and economic distress. Early in October, the Voulgaris government announced that elections would be held on January 20, 1946. EAM and Liberal Party leaders immediately proclaimed that they would boycott the elections, pointing out that even foreign-supervised elections would have little meaning with packed electoral lists and with thousands in jail. Premier Voulgaris thereupon resigned (October 9) and the Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, called on the Liberal Party leader, Themistocles Sophoulis, to form a government.

The catch, however, was in the condition which Damaskinos attached to the mandate. He stipulated that the Royalist Party must be represented in the new government, but failed even to mention the EAM—an obvious hint that it should be excluded. This condition was, in effect, a joker, as the Royalists, for obvious reasons, wanted another "non-political" government and therefore refused to associate themselves with Sophoulis. Other political leaders attempted to form a government, but the adamant refusal of the Royalists to coöperate nullified their efforts. Finally, Damaskinos, in desperation, assumed the premiership himself, so that for several days one man served as head of the national church, head of the national government and as Regent. To such lengths were the rulers of Greece willing to go in order to weaken the Left and promote the Right.

The *reductio ad absurdum* of this policy was reached when Panayiotes Kanellopoulos formed his government on November 2. Kanellopoulos can best be compared to the discredited British tool, ex-premier George Papandreou. Both are leaders of virtual one-man political parties. Both are facile phrase-makers and profess to be "men of the Left." Both talk Socialist, and act Royalist. For 18 days Kanellopoulous talked about what his government would accomplish. No one paid any attention and finally the situation in Greece became such that even the Foreign Office realized that rock bottom had been reached—that the Greek policy of Churchill and Leeper simply could not be pursued longer.

IN MID-NOVEMBER, Hector MacNeil, Parliamentary Undersecretary of the Foreign Office, arrived in Athens, ostensibly to consult on "certain problems" of reconstruction; in reality to survey the Greek scene with a view to revision of British policy. Liberal and leftist leaders spoke frankly to MacNeil about the appalling conditions, and many of them placed responsibility on British policy. MacNeil did not have to take their word. Events spoke for themselves. While he was in Greece the courts declared the 90 electoral registers of Athens invalid on the ground of irregularities; the UNRRA mission protested to Director Lehman that little aid could be extended to the Greek people so long as unstable and unpopular governments used UNRRA supplies for political and personal purposes; and laborers continued to be paid 75 cents a day while the price of bread had risen to 50 cents a loaf, meat, 70 cents a pound, olive oil, $1.40 a quart, and sugar to $2 a pound.

It did not take MacNeil long to decide on the recommendations which he cabled to London. What these were is indicated by the events of the following days. On Sunday, November 18, the Regent received the following telegraphic "recommendations" from Bevin: the earliest possible elections under Allied supervision, the formation meanwhile of a broad coalition government, and, in order that the most urgent problems of rehabilitation might be solved and the country's preoccupation with the question of a monarchical or republican regime be removed, the postponement of the proposed plebiscite until March, 1946. Premier Kanellopolous took the hint and handed in his resignation.

Regent Damaskinos, after a conference with several former prime ministers, called on Sophoulis to form a new government. The latter gladly accepted the proposal for the postponement of the plebiscite. But when he refused to include Papandreou in his cabinet, Damaskinos resigned his position as Regent, and only after lengthy interviews with MacNeil and Kanellopoulos did he agree to recall his resignation and swear in the Sophoulis government as originally constituted. Damaskinos once again resigned. Although the events of these days are not altogether clear, it appears that the resignations of Damaskinos were not due entirely to the vehement protests of King George in London. The sudden turn of events apparently was equally distasteful to the Regent. It was only after representations by Bevin, by the British and American ambassadors and by Sophoulis that he agreed to resume his position as Regent until the elections have been held.

Meanwhile the new cabinet list has been made public. Apart from Premier Sophoulis, its outstanding

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members are the first and second deputy premiers, George Kaphandaris and Emmanuel Tsouderos (both centrists and former premiers) and the foreign minister, John Sophianopoulos (head of the left-center Agrarian Socialist Party), who served in the same capacity in the Plastiras government and who made an excellent impression at the San Francisco Conference. Sophianopoulos is a particularly happy choice because, unlike many Greek political leaders, he realizes the need for cordial relations with the Soviet Union as well as with the Western powers. In fact, the first triumph of the new government was the announcement by the Moscow radio on November 27 that Admiral K. K. Rodionov had been appointed ambassador to Athens.

It is safe to say that the new government is much more representative of Greek public opinion than its predecessors. It has the support of the centrist elements and of those slightly to the left of center. It does not include representatives of the leftist EAM, and this constitutes its greatest weakness. The EAM was willing to give its conditional support to the government, provided the secret royalist Military League be suppressed, a general amnesty be proclaimed and order and personal security be restored in preparation for honest elections. But when the government failed to fulfill these conditions, the Central Committee of the EAM, on December 11, withdrew its support from the Sophoulis government on the ground that it had "betrayed its republican mission."

Aviation Musters Out

by Joan David

Because the United States would be the first target of any future aggressor and could expect no Allied help for the first year of combat, a joint Army-Navy-Commerce Committee has blueprinted a plan for demobilization of the aviation industry which would retain the framework for rapid emergency expansion. Twelve months of unplanned demobilization, it warned, would mean irreparable damage to our national defense.

Normal peacetime production for an industry which faces a 90-to-95-percent cut is equal to large-scale liquidation. Unless something concrete is done now, our aircraft industry must retrench to scarcely double what it was in June, 1940, when President Roosevelt's 50,000-plane program was announced—four full years away from filling peak military requirements. From 3,000 planes a year in 1937, production increased to more than 9,000 planes a month in 1945. The 100,000 workers in 1939 (already triple the number in 1937, because of European defense orders) became 2,100,000 at the peak, 35 percent of them women. From 44th among our manufacturing industries in 1939, aviation had become first by 1943. Its 1944 dollar volume topped 16 billion, four times the best prewar year of the automobile industry. Expansion of production facilities had been more than 90 percent government-financed—an item of some $3.6 billion, covering 574 separate projects.

Scaling this war-fattened mammoth down to peacetime size and balance cannot be Jack Robinsoned by contract terminations. Because of surplus equipment on hand, scheduled military production for 1946 is less than 2,200 airplanes, under four percent of the July, 1945, rate. This cut will shrink our production potential to the point where quick expansion is impossible. Laissez-faire demobilization will also mean sacrificing the expensive wartime dispersal program of aircraft production. On a number of security counts this would be disastrous. Coastal areas are the first to be attacked. The concentration of a vital defense industry in a few spots makes it a primary military target. Coastal cities are often transportation terminals where freight movement can be bottlenecked. The labor forces, community facilities, tools and the dispersed plants themselves will be dissipated and the time in which their replacement must be reckoned will be more than we can afford.

The existence of an aircraft surplus complicates the problem. For instance, less than five percent of our 30,000 war-produced transports will be retained in military service. Five thousand is the highest estimate yet made of *world* commercial-air-transport needs. Any large-scale sale of surplus would compete for business in an industry in which competition may soon approach the cutthroat stage.

A few surplus plants, like Willow Run, have been named by the military as part of their standby system. These may be leased, but major structural changes must have prior government consent. The rest are part of the $17 billion worth of plants which the government hopes to dispose of. Stockpiling surplus strategic raw materials is provided for in the Surplus Property Act itself, and some provision for a war reserve of general-purpose and special-purpose machine tools is expected.

Joan David has been free-lancing for two years, specializing in aviation. She has contributed to Flying, Skyways, Popular Photography, Nation's Business, Radio News, National Aeronautics *and* Flying Aces.

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The private-plane market will probably be most affected by the sale of as many of the 300,000 planes produced for war as are declared surplus. So far, all of those adapted to civilian use which have been offered have been sold. By the end of the year these sales may total 20,000 planes, the estimated private-plane production for a normal postwar peacetime year.

While the committee's report to a Senate military affairs subcommittee assumes a rapid growth of both commercial and private plane production, it declares that, at least for the first few years, military orders will have to make up about three-quarters of the aircraft industry's market. In other words, an industry capable of sufficiently rapid expansion for our defense needs will have to have its basic overhead taken care of by orders in excess of those it can expect from non-military purchasers. After the readjustment period, our peacetime total annual plane production is estimated at from $947 million to $1,695 million, or from 191 to 363 percent of 1940 production.

MUSTERING OUT the aviation industry so that it can be called up again *fast*, if necessary, must have seemed an impossible task to the members of the Interdepartmental Committee when they were appointed last January. But in the detailed plans submitted with their recent report, they have more than met the challenge.

If a sufficient budget is allowed, military orders will be a far different affair from the experimental contracts of the past, with only a few practically hand-made models delivered. Future contracts will call not only for a model, but for a production plan which includes methods of simplifying the design for mass output. If a limited number of planes are ordered, the manufacturer must give details for large-scale production.

If a design is adopted as a standard model and a sizable quantity ordered, the manufacturer must provide a blueprint for wartime production. He will furnish a tentative plant layout, together with his facilities, materials, manpower and accessories requirements; sufficient engineering data so that up-to-date drawings can be furnished on short notice to a subcontractor; special tools will be designed, made and tested; a subcontracting program must be planned and an up-to-date bill of materials maintained.

Such a program—so sensible that one cannot understand why it was never attempted before—would be a supplement to the procurement necessary to maintain our technical leadership. The committee believes it will give us a five to six months' advantage if we ever need full military production.

Another gain for our defense potential is the artificial maintenance of part of the decentralization of the aircraft industry. Subsidies are recommended, both direct, as reimbursement for all moving expenses, and in the form of reduced rentals on government-owned plants and tools, to finance those companies which are willing to carry on at least "pilot" operations in inland plants (only 3,000 to 4,000 workers are necessary for economic operation) on a competitive basis. Unused portions of these government-owned plants will be maintained at government expense. They will be available for immediate expansion, a stockpile of productive capacity.

At the start of the war American industry was surveyed for defense production. Apparently aircraft needs were specialized, for converted plants provided only three percent of expansion in air-frame production, 24 percent of airplane-engine expansion. New plants provided the rest. It would be national mayhem to allow this construction to be reconverted to other uses.

The committee proposes two types of reserve plants. A primary reserve of selected plants would be operated, at least in part, by aircraft companies. A secondary reserve of plants might be leased to any type of business subject to three restrictions: (a) no major structural alterations without government approval; (b) repossession upon 30 to 60 days' notice in a national emergency; (c) part of the plant available to store government-owned machine tools.

This standby system would mean maintaining a nucleus of labor, management and community facilities. It would save four to eight months in getting production under way.

Machine tools, which were such a production bottleneck early in the war, do not obsolesce very fast. In clearing one government warehouse some machine tools from the Spanish-American War were discovered. There was no trouble at all in selling them. This time it is proposed that 65,000 general-purpose machine tools (a small fraction of the surplus) be reserved, carefully packed and stored in unused portions of the secondary reserve plants. With this, the equivalent of eight to nine months' production available for immediate use upon the declaration of an emergency, the industry could at once concentrate on the new special tools that would be needed.

HERE IS a blueprint for defense in its truest sense. There is not the slightest attempt at self-hypnosis by a wasteful hoarding of a large air force which will be obsolete unless replaced every four years. Instead, the plan calls for a comparatively modest outlay aimed at fostering a strong and flexible aviation industry.

In contrast to our position in June, 1940, when only 40 percent of the 50,000 planes planned for could even be placed under contract because we had only a handful of models ready for production, under the proposed plan we should be able to have war production going full blast within a year. It is that head start which is our greatest assurance that no attack on this country ever will be attempted.

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Christmas Letter

by William Harlan Hale

DEAR HARRY:

How is it that with all your points they haven't yet let you out? I had hoped you'd stay with us this Christmas in New York. Housing shortage or not, I could put you up a good deal better here than I did that freezing night in Luxembourg. I can still see you curling up in your blankets on the floor, asking to be waked when the Germans got within ten miles. And I think I've never heard a colder colonel than the G-2 whom I phoned at midnight to find out how things were going up at Bastogne, when the firing grew heavier all along the line, and who answered, "Merry Christmas!" It's remarkable how a field telephone will convey cheerfulness, but not sarcasm.

That seems so very long ago. When I think back to it, it's almost like recollecting the Grand Tour—the thing you return from, inflated with what you've learned, only to find that people are absorbed in their own affairs. That's normal. I just want to prepare you, in case they cut your orders tomorrow.

I know you're thinking—as we all did—of taking it easy for a while when you get home, of looking around and maybe going duck shooting and not checking in at your old job until you've decided whether you wouldn't prefer to tackle something entirely different. That all seemed normal, but this isn't that kind of a normalcy. Except possibly for Congress, which is doing the duck-shooting part of it.

No, it's not a taking-time-out or even just a letdown that we're having here, but something pretty intense. The wise boys are getting in on it quick. Radio is booming, steels are way up, and the advertising agencies are breaking all records. Henry Luce is hiring scads of people for what looks like a worldwide outfit that will gather facts like the OSS, put them out like the OWI, and be its own State Department. The *Reader's Digest* is moving into Japan and intends to move into Germany and the rest of Europe too. Although General Motors plants at home are shut down at the moment, GM is doing a huge selling job overseas and its Opel plant in Germany—in case you didn't know—is going strong. Contracts are going to be let for so many ocean super-liners that the British shipping interests will be knocked flatter than a pancake. Pan-American, taking over from the Army and Navy air-transport commands, has got most of the best world flying routes sewed up. I hear that a big New York bank has had several vice-presidents working for the last year on plans for resuming relationships with German interests.

Harry, come back.

I expect you are down at Nuremberg having a look at the war-crimes trials. We are having our own trial here, too, and they've got President Roosevelt in the dock in absentia. I don't know whether Charles Lindbergh will go over, as requested, to testify at yours—he's been busy meeting with some Republican congressmen in Chicago. And, speaking of purges, there has been talk of staging one here, too. Senator Wherry wants to rid the State Department of "Communists." You certainly can't top such a show over there.

DON'T LET anyone tell you that from the way things are going you wouldn't know the country. I've only been back a few weeks, but it looks pretty familiar—sometimes you can hardly tell it from 1940. Burt Wheeler is back at the old stand. So is the Committee on Un-American Activities. So are Senator Bilbo, Representative Rankin and the Brooklyn *Tablet*. There are fifteen flavors of ice cream at Schrafft's—it's just like old times—and an orchestra seat for a good show on New Year's Eve will set you back $9.60; the Commercial Credit Corporation is enclosing really terrific diatribes against Russian communism with its dividend checks, and General Motors (someone once gave us three shares) has resumed sending us well printed complaints about how labor is acting up.

There's more than this going on, of course. There's the atom bomb and the matter of how well to feed the Germans and how roughly to handle the Russians and who is going to win the Army-Navy merger feud. The generals and politicians for the most part want to go on building atom bombs, and the scientists for the most part want to call a halt. This is making the scientists enter politics while the politicians and soldiers go about pursuing the atom. Then, when it comes to Europe, there are so many liberals who want to feed the Germans and so many conservatives who don't want to feed our allies that you begin to think that our food is really just another atom bomb—a weapon with which to soften our enemies and put pressure on our friends.

When it comes to Russia, a lot of very important people here feel that it is just as wrong for the Russians to interfere with us in Eastern Asia as it is right for us to interfere with them in Eastern Europe.

William Harlan Hale, editor and freelance, wrote on naval affairs for the New Republic *in 1941; joined the OWI the day after Pearl Harbor as a propagandist talking to Germany, and later operated from London, Paris, Luxembourg, etc., in the wake of the armies, ending in Berlin.*

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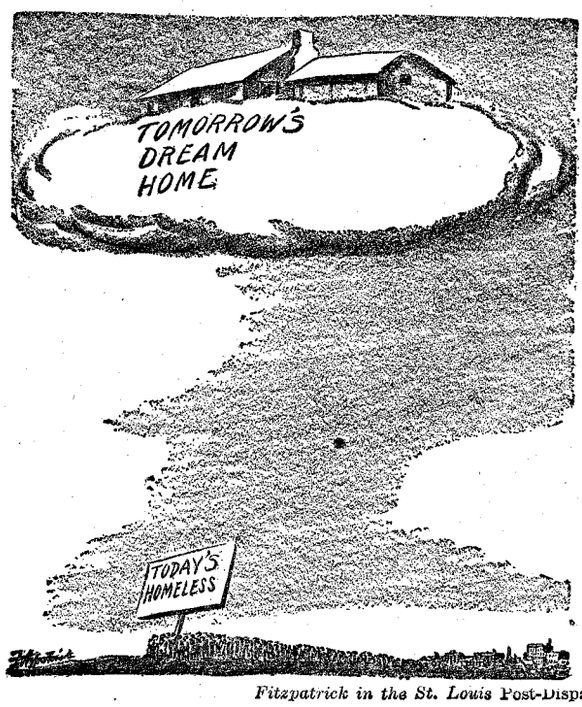
Finally, when it comes to the Navy, the admirals seem to fear that the generals want to run it, while other people seem to fear that a couple of atom bombs (an Army specialty) could sink it.

Does this mix you up? It shouldn't. I admit that the military commentators have gotten a lot of people befuddled over questions such as whether we've got too many aircraft carriers and not enough heavy bombers, or vice versa, but everybody topside seems to agree



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Tragic Gap

that we're going to need plenty of everything, even if we just label it "experimental," because it appears we just can't trust anybody. Why not? Well, our top men are doing their level best to show us why. The idea behind the recent speeches of the President and the Secretary of State seems to be that we, at any rate, are on the side of the Ten Commandments, and maybe that isn't the ticket of a lot of other people.

There's no denying that things have changed from last midwinter. You always liked the tight spots; I wonder how you'd react here now, when we are sitting on top of the world. You might ask, well, why can't we sit still? You might wonder why we keep on going into such huddles with ourselves and calling so many off-sides and arguing so much with the referees when the scrap has been won and the season is over. From the worries you hear, you might even get the idea that our people had felt surer of themselves up in that snow of Luxembourg, last year, than now, when we're home and ready for eggnoggs; and that the G-2 colonel who sarcastically answered back "Merry Christmas!" through the barrage, had his feet more firmly on the ground than the politico who now sounds off about how the whole world is just waiting to stab us in the back. You might like the new sense of danger we're having, Harry, or you might wonder, what the hell?

I can hear you letting go out of the side of your mouth that our orders were to save democracy and that some elderly characters have since rewritten these to say, "save inventory." I can see you blowing off about how this or that skeleton from the closet who didn't trust himself any too close to the fighting is now swelling his hollow chest and making a muscle and telling all those who've had it to stay put in their places. I can see you this Christmas heaving a couple of dead cats into the premises.

Well, Harry, let's get good and stiff. We can remember a lot of good things, such as the time we set down on a British emergency field that day when the Marauder had taken a shellacking and the RAF boys came running out in answer to our flare and said, "Why, you're just in time for tea"; and then the night when we first met up with Russian officers and the vodka was really something and we toasted the *Krassnii Armyah* and got up to recite for their benefit the Gettysburg Address, with crowd effects; and finally that night a year ago on the south of the Bulge when Eighth Corps held, and more than held, and the Sixth and Ninth Armored went in, and stayed in, and what had to be saved was saved, and the ambulances came out two abreast while Radio Luxembourg put on Christmas carols; and all that, I think, adds up to something. Bless them all, and may they all have Schrafft's fifteen flavors.

And as for you, I'd like to sweat out part of Christmas Day with you while dinner is cooking, thinking out loud about what it all adds up to. It would be a good day to do it. I'm sorry you won't be here—and some of the others we knew. It's high time we all got together.

Writ to Order

Twenty-five lines of New Republic space
Have to be filled to save the human race.
Somebody wrote too short, or else too long;
And that's the reason we must print a song.

If poets owned the sheet, holes would be plugged
With editorials, by-lined and double-slugged.
Imperial Caesar, dead and turned to clay
Could stop a hole to keep the wind away.

The daily scribes and weekly commentators
Are super-heavy Idaho pertators
Mealy and steaming, or half-baked and soggy—
They are the ones that really knock you groggy.

Poets are shy, and do not write to order
Their verbal colophons to trim a border,
But any journalist can vent a rage
In twenty minutes for a bob-tailed page.

G. S.

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Washington Notes

Yuletide Memo

THIS IS the Christmas season. If you eat four chocolate bars (350 calories each), one after the other, you will be getting the expected average German's daily caloric consumption for this iron winter of 1946 (1,300 calories daily). UNRRA considers anything under 2,200 below the "emergency minimum." Average caloric consumption in Italy this winter will be 1,500; Russia 1,600; France 2,000. Poland, Greece, the Balkans generally, will be far short of the minimum. The red-cheeked American schoolboy who tops off a full meal with a chocolate sundae (400 calories) will get, in one dessert, a fourth of all that the average Italian or Russian will get in a day —if lucky. Gaunt-eyed mothers in Europe right now are starving to give food scraps to thin children. The New York *Times* estimates 20 million "desperate and homeless" people are now milling east and west, north and south, across the Continent. Many Americans will feel guilty in thanking God this Christmas that they are not as other nations are. Even Congress last week quit playing Scrooge and approved big UNRRA appropriations, hitherto delayed. There's something *you* can do. UNRRA's Victory Can Collection, 100 Maiden Lane, New York 5, will take checks or community-group contributions of tinned, high-protein food. There are many other worthy relief agencies.

Major General Patrick J. Hurley's roman candle was bright while it lasted, but his charges against the State Department quickly sputtered out. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will not reopen hearings. Few political fireworks have fizzled so quickly, so completely. Now Pat may run for the Senate against Denis Chavez (D) of New Mexico, on the Republican ticket.

The Pearl Harbor investigation shows signs of blowing up, too. The Roosevelt "plot" has proved a dud. William D. Mitchell, committee counsel—Solicitor General under Coolidge, Attorney General under Hoover—is a man of impeccable character, wholly non-political, of Supreme Court caliber. He and his staff have announced their determination to resign in a body, failing every effort to expedite matters in the face of protracted, repetitious and unproductive cross-examination by Republican members. The transcript, after one month, is 700,000 words, and only 8 of 45 scheduled witnesses have been heard—not one of them actually present at Pearl Harbor. I have just reread the original Roberts Report on Pearl Harbor, dated January 23, 1942, under the chairmanship of Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts. Outside of the then-secret fact that we had broken the Jap code, no major data since brought out would alter the verdict that Kimmel and Short were guilty of "a dereliction of duty." Whatever can be said of Washington's action, Kimmel and Short were warned again and again. They failed to take reasonable precautions. . . . John Chamberlain, writing in *Life*, intimated that Governor Dewey virtually sacrificed his chance for the presidency in a patriotic act prompted by General Marshall, regarding Pearl Harbor. All Dewey did, it now turns out, was what any citizen would have done—namely, kept secret the fact that we had broken the Jap code. Had he revealed the secret, he would undoubtedly have been defeated. I hope the Pearl Harbor inquiry goes on long enough to find out, from Governor Dewey, where *Life* got those confidential letters from General Marshall.

On July 10, 1938, Drew Pearson sent out to subscribing newspapers a sensational story that "the Douglas Aircraft Company has recently sold its latest flying fortress, the DC-4, to Japan" together with blueprints. Before the story was printed, Donald Douglas, head of Douglas Aircraft, made an emphatic denial, and on advice of attorneys, the story was killed. Last Friday, long-memoried Mr. Pearson revived the matter, published chapter and verse and, in the face of the former denial, seemed to leave no doubt that the original story was true. An amusing item in his exhibit is a letter from a Japanese aircraft importer congratulating one of Douglas' agents for the skillful way he had handled the news leak, so that it fooled even the New York *Times*. If Mr. Douglas has a different version of the affair he should be given a chance to tell it to a congressional committee.

Truman administration leaders frankly admit, off the record, that the President can't be reëlected without labor support. And yet the rift with labor grows wider. A caricature of the "full-employment" bill passed the House because Administration leaders appealed, on a basis of party loyalty, to a strong liberal bloc not to fight the substitute: their argument was that they could improve the House bill in conference with the Senate. Meanwhile, I have listened to all three big labor leaders—Murray, Green and Lewis—denounce, in their respective ways, the Truman compulsory 30-day, cool-off, fact-finding bill. A compulsory federal no-strike provision for even 30 days would in that interval, it is held, allow the inception of a whole alphabet of legal attacks on a union with a threat to some of its most precious and hardest-won rights. What makes labor particularly sore is that industry has been defying the Truman administration's conciliation pleas—and getting away with it. The Secretary of Labor proposed a compromise settlement to the oil industry; it said "No." He sought conferences with General Motors; it said "No." He twice appealed, by letter, to U. S. Steel, to discuss the wage dispute; two flat "No's"—November 7 and 12. Instead of indignation, the Administration took these challenges lying down, proposing the bill restricting labor!

Not on the initiative of a Democrat but of a Republican —Senate liberal Wayne Morse of Oregon—the Senate Labor Committee will investigate to what extent elimination of the excess-profits tax and "carry-back" provisions are responsible for management's refusal to bargain collectively.

Is the *Reader's Digest* "anti-labor"? John Bainbridge, in the last of five revealing articles in the *New Yorker*, says he analyzed 16 *Digest* articles about unions printed since 1939. He found all but three plainly and extensively unfavorable to unions.

Washington T. R. B.

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Rhythm, Sound and Sane

IN THAT STRATUM of New York audiences which alone can marshal any excitement over an off-Fifty-seventh Street art, the music of 33-year-old, California-born John Cage creates an annual sensation. Annual, because Cage's following and pocketbook are too small to warrant the expense of more than one commercial venture a year, and sensation, because, whatever this music may be, its preoccupation with rhythm minus melody and its concentration on percussive non-musical sounds certainly bear little tonal resemblance to anything heard in academic or radical circles. There is something in these strange scores which might be called "infatuation with the sound of one's own music" by the editors of the *New Yorker*. Not, however, by its readers, who, in part, make up Cage's public.

There is hardly a young and honest composer alive who, at one time or another, has not felt the impasse of music. In this Cage is not original. But almost no other composer has cut so ruthlessly and, despite the spectacular appeal, so courageously, the bonds which by inclination and training may have tied him to the old masters. With the egotism and one-sided approach frequently characteristic of genius, Cage has formed an opinion about past music that would scarcely entitle him to a place in musicology's Hall of Fame, yet in its indifference to historical details serves to inspire him toward a self-willed course.

Cage proceeds from the correct assumption that Western music, or at least that music which forms our conventional background, is a chronologically and topographically limited segment of the world's tonal art. Being essentially harmonic—"Beethoven can only be appreciated on the basis of his harmonic structure," contends Cage—it imposes upon itself an unnecessary restraint through the choice of arbitrary scales and neglect of structural rhythm. Schönberg, with whom Cage studied counterpoint and for whom he has the greatest admiration, has freed music from the fetters of the scale and harmonic monotony. Composers such as Stravinsky, Varèse, and to a small degree the futurists, have demonstrated the potentialities of sensuous sound and independent rhythm. But no composer has ever attempted to combine both elements. This is what John Cage has set out to do.

The constructive material of Cage's music is rhythm as expressed in absolute time. Each composition has a predetermined length which is divided into a series of duple measures. This series, when multiplied by itself, will equal the length of the work *(e.g.*, 12 x 12). Each 12, or whatever the number may be, is divided into phrases which are mirrored in the larger sections of the composition. The phrases are used to express a freely invented and individualized rhythm. The conventional bar lines measure the time but never mark the accents. (In this connection, Cage points out a similarity between his own working technique and that of Hindu music.) And if this seems confusing, all one need remember is that the rhythmic groups serve to yield the larger form, and, conversely, that the form results from the grouping of the rhythmic nuclei.

Although numerous simultaneous sounds can be heard, none of these has anything in common with what is known as "harmony." They are selected solely on the basis of their appeal to the composer and are consciously limited to a predetermined number. The entire composition is understandable on the basis of these chosen sounds and their rhythms, an obvious departure from classical music in which each work is understandable on the basis of generally acknowledged tonal customs, conventions and clichés. Consequently, when listening to Mozart, Bach or Brahms, one can understand the music by virtue of a universal grammar. In the case of Cage, one can do so only on the basis of the composer's grammar, which is different in its application for each piece.

This individualization of art with a vengeance necessarily results in a complete abstraction from any non-musical influences such as words, motion of body or programmatic titles. It is probably this aspect which makes Cage feel akin to the painter Mondrian and which gave him the idea of conducting a series of sound experiments at Chicago's School of Design (the former Dessau Bauhaus). But his belief that music only expresses abstractly the morphology of emotions (what he calls their life and death line) stands somewhat in contradiction to his activities as a composer, which include such representational works as the music for dancers *(e.g.*, Merce Cunningham), radio plays *(e.g.*, one by Kenneth Patchen over CBS) and singers, with an accompaniment beaten out on the closed piano lid.

For this reason Cage must be judged mainly by his abstract works, which are written for three types of instrumental combinations: percussion orchestra (called "Constructions"); sound machines such as the audio-frequency oscillator, electric-wire coil, and regulated records of various industrial noises (titled "Imaginary Landscapes"); and most important of all, prepared pianos.

Similarly, one must be careful to avoid too narrow a parallel between his rhythmical emphasis and American jazz, because the latter, aside from the fact that its rhythm is bound to a steady meter, particularizes the abstract morphology of Cage's inventiveness.

Neither is his application of electrical instruments to be confused with the earlier noise attempts of the futurists. He is much less captivated by industrialism than a mere listing of his instruments might indicate. Actually he has given up writing for electrical instruments because the technological developments of the past years have demonstrated the collectivization of man to such a degree that even mental association with them precludes, for Cage, any artistic individualism.

If the early "Constructions" for percussion orchestra were still mechanized, primitive and—for the complete lack of definite pitch—monotonous, then the later works for the prepared piano allowed for greater sensuousness, virtuosity and brilliance. The prepared piano is the standard Grand. Cage uses a Steinway (L, M or O), and the preparation applies to the strings, upon which are placed numerous paraphernalia at carefully calculated locations. These include such unromantic and unpianistic gadgets as weather stripping, pennies, screws, slit bamboos, bolts, wood and rubber. Cage affixes these to a limited number of strings (the non-prepared ones are not used), which amounts, in the case of the "Book of Music for Two Pianos," his most significant composition, to about 23 out of the conventional

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88. It takes him about two hours to prepare each piano, and since each composition requires separate preparation, the composer has so far only used two pianos for group playing. If four compositions for two pianos each were on a concert program, eight pianos would be required, with a preparation time of 16 hours. The players would have to switch to different instruments in each work.

The preparation results in a change of pitch (an upward scale in the score may well sound like an upward-downward curve when played), in a diminution of the traditional volume and duration of the piano tones, and in a radical change of the timbre. Since in a composition for two pianos each instrument is prepared differently, the individual piano represents an independent gamut of sound. Furthermore, each tone has predetermined characteristics of its own, never known before in music.

The effect of the prepared piano upon an unprepared audience is less startling than one might expect from the list of paraphernalia used in the preparation. Although this resembles the inventory of an airplane factory, the compositions for what some facetious listeners have called the well-tampered clavichord sound more like a movie-mogul's dream of a Balinese orchestra than a mechanical rumpus. This impression is strengthened by Cage's sensitive and free-flowing imagination, which, devoid of all motival nuclei, impresses one as spontaneous and intuitive experimentation in sound and rhythm.

To give a conclusive evaluation of Cage's significance would be premature. Indubitably, he has enriched music through his inventions in sound. But it seems that by extending his music in time, and in only one direction of space, he has limited himself in regard to melodic architecture. It may well be that this will prove to be his downfall. On the other hand, in order to gain one thing he may have had to renounce something else. Cage certainly has not committed a crime from a generally esthetic viewpoint.

Neither can he be refuted by the now so popular canard of un-Americanism in music. While it is true that he does not employ arbitrary folk-material, his pioneer spirit, the simplicity of his material—simple and more reminiscent of the East than the limited American thesaurus—and the sensuousness and rhythmic variety, not dissimilar to jazz but far surpassing it in permanency, demonstrate that Cage, if not a nationalist musician, is definitely a national composer. As such he cannot be denied significance beyond his present small following. KURT LIST

The Bandwagon

Every element necessary for a sufficient supply of homes to meet the extraordinary demand is present and available except materials and labor. – *From the Housing Shortage section in the Statement of Policy by the National Association of Real Estate Boards.*

A thoroughly unhappy group of passengers, 2,719 of them veterans and 1,021 civilians, have returned from the Pacific aboard the former luxury liner *Monterey*. Sailors complained of being forced to do kitchen police duty and carry luggage for civilians on the trip. . . . Troop Commander Lieutenant Colonel J. P. McGuiness admitted enlisted men had worked in the . . . cafeteria, but said it was simply because civilians were not experienced at that work. – *From the* Stars and Stripes.

RED NAVY RULES PACIFIC—WIEGAND
– *Headline in the Chicago* Herald-American *(a Hearst paper).*

Well Done!

Judge Walter P. Stacey (center), chairman of the labor-management conference, is being congratulated for his work during the talks by William Green (left), president of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers. The conference adjourned in Washington on Friday night after the conferees failed to reach an agreement on wages, bargaining, jurisdictional disputes and the rights of industry. – *Caption on a picture in the New York* Herald Tribune.

On the Home Front

A special Christmas celebration for horses was instituted last year by the SPCA of Boston. Jane Withers, popular star of stage and screen, played Santa Claus and served the first dinner to a team of work horses. A horse-drawn truck, bearing a decorated Christmas tree and laden with oats, carrots and apples, roamed the streets and visited stables throughout the day. – *From* Capper's Farmer.

While Millions Starve

Our Kennel Shop's assembled ensembles designed to make dogs think they're wolves! . . . Witness smartly braided Boxer coats. Pastel coats for Cocker Spaniels. Scottish plaids for Scotties. Tyrolean coats for Dachshunds, trimmed in Alpine green or red. Macy briefs for miniatures. What's more, every coat has its matchmates—collar, harness, lead, in colorful tune. And even that's not all. The Custom Made-to-Measure Service will whip up a coat of any fur from mouton to mink [priced from $12.49 to $246]. – *From a Macy advertisement in the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Nuremberg Trial

SIR: One may appreciate the good intentions that undoubtedly motivate the present international trial of German war criminals, and yet feel grave misgivings about the entire business. It is not merely that (as anyone familiar with mass psychology might have foretold and as all competent observers now on the scene are confirming) the trial will fail dismally in its primary purpose of inoculating the German people with a conviction of guilt. Nor is it that all previous experience is against the probability that such proceedings will have any appreciable deterrent effect upon would-be war criminals hereafter. My own deep doubts and misgivings arise from far more fundamental considerations than these. They are rooted in a conviction that the larger issues of the Nuremberg trial involve not only the guilt of the German people and their leaders but the guilt of the Western democracies as well, and that by its necessary strategy in obscuring this fact, the trial may defeat its own ends.

For most of the period between their two recent super-wars the Western peoples and their leaders either actively abetted, passively approved or regarded with almost complete indiffer-

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ence a series of atrocious national and international crimes. During the later years of that period most of the Western peoples and their leaders viewed with seeming unconcern, and certainly without forceful protest, the systematic massacre of the Jews, the degradation and torture of dissenting Germans, by many hundreds of thousands, under Hitler. Only when it appeared fully obvious that the neo-barbarians would strike westward beyond the Rhine, perhaps even to the shores of America, did a moral protest of national volume arise in any country or did the Western democracies face squarely up to an organized opposition which by this time had been made more difficult and hazardous by their own witting or unwitting connivance, their stupidity, supineness and evasion.

Against such a background of common ignominy, the "world trial" of some twenty deflated gauleiters and martinets in a German courtroom, with all its ostentatious trappings, its atmosphere of self-righteousness, its pompous invocations of justice, must surely wring a wry smile from the lips of the Ironic Spirit. Some, perhaps much, incidental good is bound to come out of it, of course. Certainly the evidence being presented is of immense historical and social value. Then, too, it is having a somewhat shattering effect upon the ancient satanic doctrine of "military necessity," and already in every country there is much perturbed shaking of gold-braided hats over this and certain other threatened articles of faith in the orthodox theology of war. But in its broadest and fullest effects, the trial seems bound to reinforce much of the evil folklore and folkways which have played a principal part in bringing our planet to its present calamitous pass. Here, as often before, when conscientious but fallible men have sought infallible justice, *summum jus, summa injuria*. Before a world which has so grossly flouted the morally imperative parable of the Good Samaritan, it proclaims and authenticates the morally vacuous if not pernicious parable of the scapegoat. It evokes and fortifies the scholastic superstition of "free will," in denial of all that man has learned from social psychology. It invites and nourishes an orgiastic indulgence in the vicious narcotic of self-rightousness, when only an intense individual and collective sense of sin can be the starting-point for redemption from the ills which beset us. For the plain citizen of every country, it serves to reduce the vast and infinitely complex tragedy of the Second World War to the simple abstraction of a movie melodrama, so that with the final titillating scene on the gallows or before the firing-squad, he can relax in an untroubled moral glow, confirmed in his abiding faith that "crime never pays," that his own country is the fount and citadel of all the virtues, and that everything would go perfectly well if it were not for "trouble-making foreigners."

There is a tremendous saying of Victor Hugo's to the effect that Society stands in the dock alongside every criminal who is placed there. In the true comprehension of that saying, I think, lies a far more valid promise for humanity than in anything likely to result from the Nuremberg trial. The indictment of the German war criminals is also the indictment of a world civilization in which such men could achieve the heights of political power and perpetrate their monstrous deeds undeterred and even unrebuked for so long. Only, in my view, as this truth is taken earnestly and contritely to heart by men and women everywhere throughout the world, only as they resolve to act upon its stern implications and take such part as they may in the all-imperative task of bringing international relations out of their present anarchy into the realm of law, can there be any legitimate hope for our common civilization. It is a final and fatal weakness of the Nuremberg trial that its judges and advocates are bound to pretend that this greatest of revolutions has actually been accomplished; they must perforce evoke and apply an improvised pattern of law in a region where, as few know better than themselves, lawlessness still reigns supreme.

Warwick, N. Y. WALDO R. BROWNE

Confederation or World Government?

SIR: Four of us who have worked for some time on the atomic-bomb project have been discussing at some length the problems connected with the control of atomic energy and hence with the prevention of war.

We have concluded that no form of confederation, but only world government, can achieve a lasting peace. However, for it to be a true world government, all nations would have to turn over to it *all* of their external sovereignty, which would include power to keep armies, negotiate treaties, establish tariffs and immigration laws. A world court backed by a world police force is further necessary. Unless it had all these powers, it would remain a confederation.

From these definitions, and the conclusion that world government is necessary, we see that there are, at the least, three immediate courses open:

1. Attempt to establish true world government now.
2. Establish a "limited world government" (or strong confederation).
3. Strengthen and work through the United Nations Organization.

We feel that differences in economic systems (notably between the United States and the USSR) and the lack of education in some countries (*e. g.*, India) prevent the unified economy and social structure implied by the transference of all external sovereignty, and thus make world government impossible now. If a compromise is made on the amount of sovereignty to be turned over, this "limited world government" will actually be a confederation, and one which because of its name may deceive and disillusion people. If UNO is utilized, we may be unable to turn it into a world government in time to prevent another war.

So we have reached a dilemma. The readers of the *New Republic* are more widely experienced in this field than we, and this problem which baffles us may to them be quite simple. We should greatly value their opinion and advice concerning it.

JOHN L. BALDERSTON JR. DIETER M. GRUEN, W. J. MCLEAN, D. B. WEHMEYER

Oak Ridge, Tenn.

[Our readers are invited to comment on this letter. – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The International Labor Defense calls for action by the Department of Justice on three cases: the lynching of Jesse James Payne, Negro, in Madison, Florida; of Moses Greene, Negro war veteran who was shot by two deputy sheriffs on his farm near Ellenton, South Carolina, with no explanation or later investigation; the lynching of Sam McFadden, Negro war veteran in Suwanee County, Florida. By a Supreme Court decision (Screws v. U. S.), the federal government has jurisdiction in these cases under the Federal Civil Rights Act. The states in which lynching and murder occurred have taken no action. The ILD suggests writing to Attorney General Tom Clark asking that these cases be prosecuted.

Herbert Crahl and George L. McGlynn of the Socialist Labor Party send us a copy of a letter to President Truman on behalf of Henry Weber, a member of that party who is now confined to the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Mr. Weber is now serving a five-year sentence, reduced from a twenty-year term, which was originally commuted from a death sentence for refusing to shoulder a gun. Because his scruples against war were not religious, he has not been accorded any of the protections allowed to conscientious objectors.

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Books in Review

Spotlight on the Far East

WHATEVER differences of opinion there may be about the current melancholy state of affairs in the Far East, there is one universal agreement. It is that the American policy toward China is a mess. There is something astounding about the way in which all sides get together violently in such a judgment. Even ex-Ambassador Hurley, who has contributed more to our failure in this area than any other man and has left a record of ineptitude that is almost unparalleled in diplomatic history, realizes that things haven't gone very well. A year ago there was the best chance in recent Chinese annals for the establishment of a progressive, democratic regime in a unified country. Now, thanks to the Hurley fatuousness, the confusion of American policy and the stubborn insistence on power of the ever ambitious Chiang Kai-shek, civil war, chaos and the continued infliction on a hapless people of corrupt, feudal rule overwhelm the land.

In one way or another all sides in the China controversy, even the apologists for the Kuomintang, seem to admit that this is pretty much the case. The difference of opinion appears to be concerning responsibility. The pro-Chungking apologists insist that, if the Chinese communists were just put down, the semi-fascist gang currently dominating the country would somehow fall away and a democratic government spring fully clad from the brow of the saintly Generalissimo. Somewhat more liberal forces contend that if the American government would discontinue its all-out support of a power-conscious clique and give a bit of aid and comfort to the advocates of Chinese unity, it would be possible to bring about, almost overnight, a China that was neither communist nor feudal but committed to a democracy that would give a great people the proper opportunity to achieve the progress they deserve.

Then, of course, there is General Hurley's attitude toward the debacle. From his statement on the subject, it is rather difficult to figure out just what this is. Hurley's thesis seemed to be that we were supporting colonial imperialism against communist imperialism, but by some miracle or other, the subversive Reds, who appear to have suddenly dominated the State Department, were committing us to communist imperialism, which, by an additional twist, was about to cause us to go into a third world war on the side of colonial imperialism. It all tended to suggest that those of us who had come back from China reporting that the General was a trifle baffled by things these days may not have been so far wrong.

If we had to base our judgments on what the returned envoy tried to tell us, it would be confusing. It happens, though, that there is a more revealing record of his conduct. That record is the unhappy situation in China today, after a year in which the General, thanks to characteristic confusion in American foreign policy, was given a free hand by default, with the result that one of the best diplomatic staffs that ever represented the United States anywhere has been terrorized and destroyed, American lives lost in flying our own planes to turn them over to the Chungking government, our admittedly precarious Russian relations further imperiled and our strength used, not to bring about peace and progress in China, but to aid the reactionary side in waging a civil war. It is a particularly depressing situation for an Administration that prides itself on being progressive.

There have been indications in General MacArthur's treatment of Japan that it is possible for American public opinion, properly informed, to have a decided influence for good on the handling of our foreign affairs. Since it is difficult to believe that many people in this country want to see American lives lost in promoting a civil war in China, there is every reason to feel that national opinion, as well informed about China as it quickly came to be about the occupation of Japan, would insist on the withdrawal of our forces from China, even if it did not go on to advocate the use of our good offices to promote the Chinese political unity that General Stilwell and ex-Ambassador Gauss strove for until Hurley and Wedemeyer were substituted for them in one of FDR's unhappiest acts. This being the case, it is unfortunate that the American press, save for the New York *Herald Tribune* and a few other courageous exceptions, tends to support the Chiang dictatorship, despite the fact that American correspondents in China, almost to a man, have reported on its evils and on the superior vitality of the latent democratic forces. For all the press hostility, however, there is still the chance for the public to inform itself, and that is due to the number of good books recently written about China by men who know what they are talking about.

Since the United States insists that it is impossible for us to know what is going on in Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland unless American correspondents can travel there and report to us, we must place high value on the findings of trained observers. Fortunately there are many such reports on what is taking place in equally unknown China by experienced men, and if all of them seem to agree in fundamentals on what is going on, apparently there must be something to what they say. Several of these books have already been reviewed and recommended, such as Owen Lattimore's *Solution in Asia*, Lawrence K. Rosinger's *China's Crisis* and Harrison Forman's *Report from Red China*. All of them deserve to be studied. Now there are two more: Gunther Stein's *The Challenge of Red China*[1] and Philip Jaffe's *New Frontiers in Asia*,[2] and they are also to be recommended.

It is no disparagement of Mr. Forman's *Report from Red China*—which was a valuable, factual account of what the author saw in his visit to the communist areas in north China during the brief period a summer ago when foreign

[1] The Challenge of Red China, by Gunther Stein. New York: Whittlesey House. 490 pages. $3.50.

[2] New Frontiers in Asia, by Philip Jaffe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 375 pages. $3.

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correspondents were permitted by the Kuomintang to cross its blockade of those areas—to say that Mr. Stein's book about the same trip is considerably superior. Mr. Forman's work was valuable because of its timeliness, but it also suffered from the speed of its composition. Mr. Stein, who is a trained economist, took more time in his writing, and the result is a really fine book which gives a full and detailed account of his investigations into what he believes is the only democratic China. If the author is inclined to be enthusiastic about the things he saw in the communist areas, he is perfectly able to give the reasons and the evidence for his admiration, and it is difficult to dispute him. This is one of the most important books to come out of the Far East in the recent past.

In Mr. Jaffe's book, China is only part of the subject matter, since the fighting editor of the magazine *Amerasia* is likewise concerned with India, Japan and the relationship of the great powers to the Far East. In the main, what he is saying is that world prosperity can only be brought about in a capitalistic world by a new relationship between the so-called backward nations of China and India and the Western lands, a relationship in which the standards of living are so raised that the productive power of the world can be properly used. He argues his case effectively and his account of the current chaos in India is skillfully managed, if a trifle oversimplified. When he gets to China he is on sure ground and his chapters on the current mess are admirably informative.

Both books will add greatly to anyone's understanding of the dangerous situation in the Far East. It seems that everywhere in the world today the seeds of future war are being sown, but it is China's sad fate that there, once more, the melancholy flowering seems most evilly luxurious. There is, therefore, cause for both optimism and despair, particularly in reading Mr. Stein; optimism, because the part of the Chinese nation he depicts offers such promise for democracy and progress; despair, because it seems at the moment so likely that the United States is about to aid in the destruction of this hope of the Far East in the interest of a feudal oligarchy. RICHARD WATTS JR.

Drawings

Fragonard Drawings for Ariosto, with essays by Elizabeth Mongan, Philip Hofer and Jean Seznec. New York: Pantheon Books. 80 pages, plus 137 plates. $18.
The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, edited by A. E. Popham. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 320 pages. $10.

A PASSING KNOWLEDGE of both Ariosto and Fragonard, even in someone of discretion, might easily make it seem strange that such a poet could be happily illustrated by such a painter, which is the assumption of this present volume, sponsored by the National Gallery of Art and the Harvard College Library, and published, to a really vast credit and distinction, by Pantheon Books.

There is to be considered Ariosto and *Orlando Furioso*, first published in his native Ferrara in 1515, during the High Renaissance, then going before the century was over into close to a hundred editions (mostly from Venice, which was at that time the center of printing in Europe). And there is Fragonard, applying to study with Boucher, the favorite court painter of that time, and sent by him to Chardin, and six months later returning to design under Boucher's eye and at the same time entering on to the scholarship lists, with masters like Carlo Van Loo and Lépicié. Then there is a trip to Italy, and the great name of Tiepolo to be considered, and the pagan, brilliant, elusive perfection that came in that epoch into the arts. But since Ariosto came so many centuries earlier, and in so alive and radiant an intellectual epoch, it might seem strange that this French painter for the court, coming as he did so many years later, with all the changes as to both poetry and painting, could have been at all adapted to the office and intention involved in such illustrations.

The history, more than briefly recounted here of course, of Ariosto and the *Orlando Furioso* will be a commentary on that point. After a furor, his appeal fell off, so that only forty-odd editions are recorded for the next century, the seventeenth, though by then there had been more than five hundred and fifty editions altogether. (I put down these precise figures because numbers and quantities are among the few things that have been left for us Americans to understand and delight in.) The interest, however, in *Orlando Furioso* revived toward the end of the eighteenth century, sponsored by Voltaire, who had a lively admiration for this epic. And that brings us to Fragonard. And it brings us also to that strange, free, characteristic and passionate interest that Fragonard manifested in the *Orlando Furioso*, whether he read it in French or Italian—the point is not settled. He is only one of the scores of illustrators of the *Orlando Furioso*, but his especially is the approach that has the whirl, the pure form, the sense of right, free beauty and the reckless variety which suit the poetry and its inmost, outmost soul, and suit that flowing, passionate sense of form that was at the source of Ariosto's genius. This approach was more Fragonard's than it was classical French.

The French have, in their fashion, despised Italy after the sixteenth century, when they invaded it and messed it up, as the Spaniards did also, with a foreign element. But since the French have despised everybody outside of France (see, for example, Baroja's book in Spanish about youth and egotism, not yet translated, so far as I know, into English), it does not in this case greatly signify what the French thought. In English there appeared a loose version in 1591, following, no doubt prenatally, the general Gallic idea that all good little philosophies when they die go to London. But we have time here only to come to Fragonard's drawings, never published, never finally worked over, never covering the whole of Ariosto's epic, but brilliant, fluent and right.

It is very easy to confuse the epochs when we deal with moods, artistic qualities and spiritual passions. Ariosto, coming in the Italian sixteenth century, represented the final cult in artistic form. The slate had been cleared of intensity. Christian, pagan and astrological mythologies were all one; the field was clear and, if need be, glorious. To this the simplicity and clarity that Ariosto brought made him, in writing, the greatest of Renaissance artists, not of poets. His prime gift is to fix the object in the moment

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when it is most alive. In this lies his miraculous clearness, with its vast variety and freedom. It is all a matter of art. It is all a divine game, conjured up by an unceasing labor and awareness of high art. It is a game of the imagination or pure art, followed up with irony, or variety of form or with the fervor of esthetic passion. Hence Fragonard.

Such brief and superficial remarks as these precede the statement on my part that this volume on Fragonard's *Orlando Furioso* drawings presents the first public view of them ever to be had, and that the three introductory essays—"Fragonard the Draughtsman," by Elizabeth Mongan, "Illustrated Editions of *Orlando Furioso*," by Philip Hofer, and "Fragonard as an Interpreter of Ariosto," by Jean Seznec—are to me, at least, pretty overwhelming in their learning, their great labor in research and their most intelligent deductions. This volume of theirs is such a one as does not appear in every decade. In its special way, it is monumental.

The book of three hundred and fifty plates of Leonardo da Vinci presents very well indeed a comprehensive collection of his drawings. His universal genius appears here to great advantage. The introduction, with its comments on the drapery studies, early madonnas, horses and other animals, allegories and masquerades, profiles and grotesques, anatomical drawings and drawings of the nude, landscapes, flowers and water-maps, and then machinery and architecture, do indeed furnish a cosmic problem in presentation. There is also a good bibliography and concordance.

STARK YOUNG

Home Is the Hero

The New Veteran, by Charles G. Bolté. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 212 pages. $2.

When K-9's (war dogs) are processed for release from the Army, they are thoroughly briefed, oriented and prepared to meet the pitfalls of civilian life. Touching care is taken in order that the hounds may be properly integrated in their new homes, tasks and responsibilities.

GI's are processed in forty-eight hours—if they're lucky—and told: You're on your own now, and can go home to Mom's blueberry pie.

"It's great to be free," a uniformed veteran told me at New York's Penn Station. "I come and go as I please, but usually I have to be back here early or somebody else is sleeping in that beach chair."

At the Veterans' Center, 500 Park Avenue, the man in charge of housing has a sick and haggard look on his face. His usual, sad reply is: "No rooms, fellas, I'm awfully sorry." Then he throws up his hands and cries: "I'm sick of this! I have nightmares. I can't sleep. Why doesn't somebody do something?" And the lady who interviews you about civil-service jobs has lucrative offers at 65 cents an hour. "I'm ashamed to offer them to you," she says.

An unemployed veteran can draw $20 a week for a year, if he has registered for work with the USES but has not found a suitable job. Since there are few suitable jobs to be found, many are taking the "readjustment compensation."

In his introductory chapter, Charles G. Bolté poses the question: The Veteran—Hero or Problem? And he warns: "Somebody had better find the answers or there's going to be trouble."

When we went overseas, I shuddered at the fact that in my own crew not one person knew why he was being sent over to fight and perhaps die. The best kept secret of the war was *Why are we fighting?* The men fought bravely despite their ignorance of the war's causes, but many have come back with chips on their shoulders, bitter at the society that sent them over. A Yugoslav partisan once told me: "You Americans are well armed physically, but not spiritually."

Bolté knew why it was necessary to fight, and he volunteered. He considered the war his personal affair even before our country entered the brawl. He was lucky he knew, because he lost a leg in the desert fighting, and the painful road back was not accompanied by bitterness against society. Read his book and you will agree that Bolté has made his "readjustments." What about millions of others?

We've come back to a rich land, those of us who were lucky. We've come back with the eagerness and expectations to enjoy the fruits of our victory. The problems we face can well be erased by a job and a place to live. But we find no jobs, and there aren't any homes for us, and although the grass has not yet grown over the graves of our dead comrades, the men in charge of our destinies are intervening in China and Java and Palestine, kindling the flames of new wars.

While the starved and impoverished people of liberated Europe are looking with hope for a new day free of wars

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and destruction, we are making and storing atomic bombs —"as a sacred trust," of course.

We've come back to a land filled with uncertainty and doubt. We have problems that cry for solution, but I don't think we can solve them by ourselves. Congress is through making flowery speeches about what great heroes we *were*. Congress is too busy mutilating the full-employment bill and seeking measures to destroy unions. Congress will not help us. Organization *will* help us.

The author says the American Veterans' Committee is the place for the veteran who wants to do something about his or her problems. And he devotes considerable space in his book to prove the point. Certainly, no one reading the AVC's Statement of Intentions would make any objections. But no matter what outfit a veteran joins, whether it is the AVC, the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars, he must realize, and soon, that his friends are those who speak and act for labor and progress; they speak for Negro rights and full employment and a decent living wage; they're opposed to any "sacred trust" or atomic horse-trading; they're against intervention in China and Java and Palestine; they're for a strong United Nations and for peace.

We have no time to brood over our problems in isolation. Labor is the veteran's natural ally, and what is happening on the picketline at the GM plants has great significance for us.

I think Bolté's well conceived book weakens when he tries to run the gantlet between ". . . management and labor, each convinced the other was out to get it." The point is, where do we stand? We must decide in a hurry.

The New Veteran says a lot of important things well. The author speaks with authority and feels his subject keenly.

LOUIS FALSTEIN

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Dilemma and Challenge

A Catholic Looks at the World, by Francis E. McMahon. New York: The Vanguard Press. 334 pages. $2.75.

DR. MCMAHON displayed high principle and courage when, some years back, he refused to submit to isolationist pressures by certain of his colleagues on the Notre Dame faculty. Since then, in his writings and by his direct activity, he has fought hard and well for a progressive point of view. This book is, in a sense, the credo of an American Catholic liberal. As such it is a persuasive and eloquent plea for democracy and human dignity. Liberals of every faith can subscribe to virtually everything McMahon has to say on domestic and international issues. I say "virtually" advisedly. Catholic liberals frequently have shown a sensitiveness to other liberal criticism of certain doctrines of their Church; this at times has led them into disquieting intellectual about-faces. One recalls, for example, Hilaire Belloc's *The Servile State*, in which a brilliant liberal analysis of capitalist society was at times punctuated by defenses of Vatican attitudes which appeared—to certain quarters—in opposition to the author's basic premise. A similar sense of resentment is to be found in some of the excerpts from the works of the great Catholic progressive, Jacques Maritain, which are in McMahon's book. McMahon himself is guilty of the same thing. And—parenthetically—this reviewer hopes that this particular commentary on the author's excellent study is not (unconsciously) conditioned by the fact that McMahon singles out the *New Republic* and the *Nation* for special dispraise as "the authoritative proponents of the new faith"—a faith which, the author submits, is an indication of the intellectual and religious bankruptcy of present-day liberalism.

One cannot in a short review do more than suggest some of the ideological colorations that at times appear to confuse the main argument. In his stimulating chapter, "The Failure of the Liberals," McMahon attacks state-planned economy as "the death of freedom." After paying tribute to the late Mr. Justice Holmes as a great liberal, he concludes that "his fundamental philosophy, however, reveals its misery—a corroding skepticism was the essence of his thoughts—in rejecting 'absolutes' of every kind, he rejected any absolute convictions about the dignity of human personality or the sanctity of the law." McMahon attacks those who have criticized the Church for its stand against the spread of contraceptive devices; they have abandoned —he says—the good fight for an increasing American birth rate and the sanctity of family life. In discussing the objectivity of Catholic liberals about the Spanish civil war, he says, "Their practical program was one of *positive impartiality* [italics his] involving the advocacy of negotiated peace between the two sides, neither of which was altogether guiltless." He defends the Concordat between the Vatican and Hitler as "the result, upon the part of the Vatican, of a sincere hope that some sense could be driven

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into the Nazi heads." Finally, in discussing the famous Christmas, 1944, Message of Pope Pius XII in which the latter differentiated between "people" and "masses," McMahon justifies that distinction on grounds that seem tenable, but which are not implicit in a rereading of newspaper reports of the message itself.

It will be argued that I have lifted isolated interpretations, etc., out of context. To the degree that Dr. McMahon throughout his book personally takes the classical liberal side of the debate, that criticism perhaps is justified. My purpose has been merely to point up what I believe to be a crucial dilemma for the Catholic liberal—and it applies in lesser degree to liberals of all faiths—the compulsion to square personal ideological philosophy with the doctrinaire attitudes of religious authority. It is a dilemma which is not easily resolved, but for a man of Dr. McMahon's steadfast convictions, it is at least a challenge.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

A Reader's List

MAQUISARD: A CHRISTMAS TALE, by Albert J. Guerard (Knopf, $2). The young American scholar and novelist has drawn upon his recent experiences in France as a staff sergeant with the United States Information Service to write an alternatingly tough and tender account of an American officer's encounter with a group of Maquis. In surprising contrast with *The Hunted*, Guerard's somber and violent novel of peacetime America, this tale of war-torn France is quietly written and light in spirit.

BOY ALMIGHTY, by Feike Feikema (Itasca Press, $2.75). This overpowering case history of "Eric Frey's" two years in a tuberculosis sanitarium is so good that one wishes that Feikema had not transcribed it into fiction. As in the case of his first novel, *The Golden Bowl*, what Feikema has to tell us here about himself and his experience is reduced, not enhanced, by the novel-form. But beneath the unruliness, the naïveté and the shapelessness of Feikema's art are a personal passion and social conviction that lift his two books above the dead level of most contemporary American fiction.

SOMEWHAT ANGELS, by David Cornell DeJong (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50). A somewhat brutal going over of American womanhood on the home front which provides a satirical fictional background for the disquieting statistics on broken wartime marriages. If some of the chief characters —a possessive wife, the radical "intellectual" to whom she loses her husband, and a promiscuous Southern war-bride—run to caricature, in Mrs. Brain, mother and mother-in-law, DeJong comes up with an authentic American social type.

NEW WRITING AND DAYLIGHT: 1945, edited by John Lehmann (Hogarth Press, London; ten shillings, sixpence). One of the best issues of this excellent miscellany. Although most of the contributors are British, there are translations from the Greek of the late Demetrios Capetanakis, Odysseus Elytis and George Seferis, and articles on Knut Hamsun, Kokoschka and (inevitably) the theatre of Jean-Paul Sartre.

BEDSIDE BOOK OF FAMOUS FRENCH STORIES, edited by Belle Becker and Robert N. Linscott (Random, $3). The current Literary Guild selection includes twenty-three short stories ranging from Balzac and Flaubert to Malraux and Sartre. For all its convenient readability, the chief impression one carries away from this excellent anthology is that (with such exceptions as Maupassant and Mérimée) the genius of French fiction is more permanently embodied in the novel than in the short story. A case in point is André Malraux's "Tank Trap"—apparently an excerpt from his novel, *La Lutte avec l'Ange*—which is more exciting as a promise than as an achievement.

PLANNING No. 241. Vital Statistics (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). The usefulness of population data is often impaired by qualifications and refinements introduced by the statistician. PEP, however, avoids the many pitfalls of demographic analysis; its presentation, which renews the population studies started eleven years ago, is a model of careful use of vital statistics. "Although total population," says the broadsheet, "is still on the increase, it is rapidly growing

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older, in the sense that the ratio of old to young people is rising." This tendency has, of course, a direct bearing on problems of housing, industry, taxation and immigration. British population trends were the prototype for the patterns of Western industrial society. Population increase was, in the main, determined by the rapid decline in the death rate. PEP's analysis suggests that little further improvement may be expected in mortality rates. This, together with the decline in fertility, accounts for the fact that the "present generation has failed to replace itself in the last twenty-four years. . . . The most that can be looked to in the long run is a small increase, and this can only be achieved by reversing present trends; otherwise a drastic decline seems inevitable."

Contributors

Kurt List, editor of *Listen*, has had his orchestral compositions performed by the International Society for Contemporary Music, at Town Hall and over the radio. He has contributed to *Modern Music*, *Kenyon Review*, *Common Sense* and *Commentary*.

Richard Watts Jr. has been foreign correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune* in the Far East, Russia and Spain and was editor-in-chief of the Office of War Information in China.

Louis Falstein, recently discharged from the Army, flew 50 missions with the 15th Air Force. Now in New York, he is working on short stories and a novel.

Harvey J. Bresler, director of organization and finance for the American Jewish Congress, has contributed to the New York *Times Book Review*, the *Political Science Quarterly* and other publications.

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